



Rec'd 29th Dec.

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos*.

NEWS OF THE WEEK—

	PAGE
The Parliament of the Week	122
Preparations for War	125
The Position and Pay of the British Seamen	125
India, China, Australia	126
Continental Notes	126
The Australian Expedition	128
Discoveries in Central Africa	128
Health of London	128
Strikes—Opening of the Mills	129
The Thief and the Oath	129
Miscellaneous	129

PUBLIC AFFAIRS—

The War of Principles	131
The Preston "Lock-Out" at an End	132
Beward of the Russian Trade	132
The Recent Meeting of Convocation	133
The Reform of the Navy	133
The Lancashire Strikes and Lock-Outs.—III. The Labour Market	134
Serbia and the Russo-Greek Conspiracy	135

Contents.

The North Australian Expedition	135
A "Stranger" in Parliament	136
OPEN COUNCIL—	
Mr. Cobden Disbelieves in any Active Scepticism	137
LITERATURE—	
Summary	138
Doubleday's True Law of Population	138
The Russians of the South	139

De Quincey's New Volume	140
Books on our Table	141
THE ARTS—	
Theatres, &c.	141
Births, Marriages, and Deaths	141
COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS—	
City Intelligence, Markets, Advertisements, &c.	142-144

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1854.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.

News of the Week.

THIS week Ministers have confessed, through the Foreign Secretary in Parliament, that they expect nothing from the so-called last attempts at a peaceable settlement of the Eastern question. Lord Aberdeen, indeed, with technical accuracy, observes that we are not yet at war, and clings with characteristic obstinacy to the hope that, so long as such is not the case, peace may yet be saved; but this is avowedly an individual sentiment. In stating, on Monday, that Baron Brunow had retired from diplomatic relations with this country, that M. Kisseloff had done the same in Paris; and that instructions would be sent out to the French and English Ministers in St. Petersburg to withdraw, Lord Clarendon expressly declared that he had no reason to suppose that fresh negotiations on the subject would be renewed—there was "an end" of the propositions made by Russia.

This week, also, Ministers have given Parliament a clearer explanation than has been yet made of Count Orloff's mission to Vienna. It appears to have had a two-fold object: one was, to submit a counter-project, which was of such a character that the conference of the Four Powers instantly rejected it. As this project conveyed by Count Orloff crossed the last communication of the Four Powers to Russia, as it is couched in terms so absolutely inadmissible, and as the Czar practically disregarded all that the Four Powers had done, the transaction implies a readiness to slight the Four Powers, if not an hypocritical pretence of negotiating in order to cover some ulterior object. After the project was rejected, Count Orloff remained in Vienna, and during that period he paid three visits somewhat remarkable. He was ten minutes, it is said, with Count Buol; some hours with Prince Metternich; some hours with the Emperor. What the object of his stay could be, Lord Clarendon cannot guess; but report assigns to him the further mission of endeavouring to purchase the alliance of Austria with Russia, or even a virtual alliance covered under professed neutrality, by a promise of sharing the spoils if the Ottoman empire should be broken up. It is said that the same offer was conveyed in writing to the King of Prussia, and rejected.

It appears probable, therefore, that the attempt to make a separate cause with Austria has, for the present at least, proved a total failure; unless, as a private note assures us, Count Orloff has really attained more success than appears on the surface, in countering anti-Russian councils in Vienna. The unconcealed action of Ministers confirms the impression created by their language—that they have become decidedly more energetic. A large body of troops is under orders for foreign service, comprising twenty or more regiments;

and the officers of three of the household regiments of foot have been apprised that they too will be placed under orders for Malta. Some few of the regiments of the line are intended for colonial service; but it is generally understood that the bulk are destined for the East. France, it is said, will land in Turkey a contingent of forty thousand men, a considerable proportion of them drafted from active training in Algeria. To supply the place in France, extensive augmentations of the army are going on. In our own country, while the recruiting of the line proceeds with activity, it is anticipated that the consolidation of the militia laws will afford the opportunity for increasing that force; and a report that a great militia camp is to be established, probably at Chobham, receives general belief. A large proportion of the coast-guard is ordered to be ready for service afloat, to form the nucleus of new crews. The Baltic fleet, which is to be ready in March, is to be placed under Sir Charles Napier; his second in command being Admiral Chads, not for the admirable training which he gave to his men in the *Excellent*. Admiral Chads is perfectly acquainted with steam navigation and its last improvements. In short, there is every appearance that England is placed at once in a position to strike a decisive blow, either defensively or offensively.

In Parliament some progress has been made with business, although the debates have, with few exceptions, been not remarkable for length or animation. Lord John Russell has re-introduced his Jew Bill, with many protests out of doors, both from advocates and opponents of the measure, against the formal repetition of that ceremony. But he has now placed the action of Government on a very intelligible ground. In the first instance he proposes to abolish the three oaths now existing: the first, declaring allegiance to the Sovereign, is simple and intelligible enough, but is more conveniently incorporated in a single oath, comprising the desirable objects. The supremacy oath, framed to keep Roman Catholics out of Parliament, is spared to persons of that faith, but is enforced upon Jews, whom it keeps out by the accidental use of the words "on the true faith of a Christian." And the abjuration oath, disclaiming allegiance to the descendants of James the Second, is a blasphemous mockery, since God is taken to witness that the juror will pay no allegiance to a race which is not in existence. Disusing these three oaths, therefore, Lord John Russell proposes to substitute one, declaring allegiance to the Throne, repudiating the authority of foreign potentates, and, in short, accomplishing all the substantial and living purposes intended by the three oaths. These he would enact by bill; but, he hints, should the Lords throw out the measure, that in dealing with a case of a member of the Jewish persuasion, the House of Commons might repeat the course taken in the

case of Mr. Pease, who was admitted by a simple resolution of the House that a particular form of the oath would be sufficient. But for the engrossing interest in the question—Are we at war or peace?—the great fact of the week would be Lord Aberdeen's emphatic declaration last night, a volunteer declaration, that come what may, Government will not flinch from the promised Reform Bill. The first instalment of that measure may be perceived in Lord John's scheme, introduced last night, for checking electoral corruption. It looks a good scheme, and will, probably, with some emendations, work as well as any legislation can be expected to work against evils which are only really to be met by balancing against them a national franchise; the nation being, let us still hope, equal to the preservation of honest nationality. But as yet it would be premature to pronounce for or against a plan, the efficacy of which must depend on the circumstances to which it is applied, whether the present or the proposed new electoral circumstances.

The acquittal of Major Beresford in the Court of Queen's Bench, is the latest proof that the code of morals of our public men has undergone no change. Lord Campbell remarking on the resolution of the Queen's Counsel not to adduce evidence in the case, that it was equivalent to an admission that the charges could not be substantiated, proceeded further than the public are likely to accompany him. The suspicion of collusion is rather confirmed than allayed by the conversation which concluded this judicial farce: there is altogether too close a correspondence between the Crown policy, in this instance, and the Ministerial policy by which a judgment on Mr. Stafford was obviated in the House last session. One inference only can be drawn by the public from these proceedings, that Major Beresford and others are no worse than their peers, that their detection was a Parliamentary misfortune, the consequences of which "honourable" members united in preventing. The code of honour among criminals is as strict as that among professors of virtue. When one of them is detected in malpractices, they all join to shield him from the punishment due to his crime. So "honourably" has the House of Commons adhered to this rule, that although we have had the guilt of several of their body publicly established, none of them has fallen into the hands of justice. Sprogs and Tomkins are still in gaol because they were paid the present value of the influence of their votes on legislation, in the current coin of the realm. The vendors of votes were *canaille*, the purchasers *gentlemen*; which makes all the difference before our Big Whigs, in a British court of justice!

Next in importance, as tending to a reform, is a little local bill, introduced by Mr. Collier, to extend the jurisdiction of the Stannaries Court from Cornwall to Devonshire. In doing so he would also extend the principle of limited li-

bility, which already prevails to some extent in mining affairs. A slight discussion incidentally arose on this principle, which was excellently and concisely explained by Lord Goderich, not only as a convenience commercially, but as a measure that would go far to conciliate the labouring classes, who supposed themselves now to be excluded, by the operation of statutes, from sharing in the advantages that are given to larger capitalists. Any prognostic as to the danger to commerce which would result from limited liability, is overruled by the example of France, and by the Anglo-Saxon example of the American United States. Ministers suspended their own opinions, as the subject is under discussion by a royal commission. It is, however, evidently making progress in the opinion of influential men. On Tuesday, in a mere episodical discussion, the unanimity on all sides of the House in favour of the principle was rendered conspicuous by a solitary exception.

Far less in importance, but far more stirring in treatment, was the new Irish scandal. At a public dinner, recently, Dr. Gray related how a gentleman, desiring the post of paid poor-law guardian, had given 300*l.* to a Member of Parliament for the purpose of procuring it by intercession with Government; and another speaker stated another and similar case as having happened some time ago. The *Times* made a severe animadversion upon the corrupt propensities of Irish members, inferring that some hundred men who sat in the House as representatives of Irish constituencies, really represented Irish place-hunters and the purchasers of posts. Technically treating this article as a breach of privilege, though disclaiming any ulterior penal intentions, Mr. Isaac Butt brought the subject before the House, and demanded investigation by a committee. His suggestion was agreed to without resistance, but not without debate. Mr. Ball stated facts which showed that the purchase of a paid guardianship was entirely impracticable, as the commissioner in whom the appointment lies, Mr. Ball himself, has proclaimed and observed a rule that no applications shall be attended to save those publicly addressed to the department. It has, however, been observed, that although the place may never have been sold to the Irish member; it may have been purchased of an Irish member, the distinction being material. Mr. Lucas, who asserts the purchase of places in the public departments of London, supplied materials for a further investigation; but it is evident that the inquiry has two branches—the sale of place from Irish members, and the corrupt gift of place to Irish members. It is supposed that, at all events, the cases are old—there has not been such a thing as a paid guardian for three years.

In the course of the Irish debate, Mr. Thomas Duncombe claimed inquiry also into the supposed allegations of Mr. Hudson, that he had paid 6300*l.* to procure favourable influences amongst Members of Parliament in dealing with the railway schemes to which he was attached. That suggestion also received approval, though it does not appear to have been technically adopted. Subsequently, Mr. Hudson emphatically denied that he had said so; adding a curious oration, full of broken sentences, relating how he had enjoyed the smiles of prosperity, and met adversity with fortitude, how he might have had “means so gigantic that he could have revelled in them,” how he was now called upon to “disgorge” what he never received, and how he invited “any Member to take him from his cradle and follow him to that day.” This speech was listened to almost in silence. Mr. Hudson’s indignation at the charges against himself; his reproaches insinuated against those who followed him in prosperity and turned from him in adversity; his emotion; his boast that he should yet complete all the works which he had commenced “in the plenitude of power;” and his offer, twice made, to be taken from his cradle—were listened to with a silence which marked, in the bestowers, absence of sympathy, but, if we may be pardoned the philological solecism, a strong feeling of compassion.

Mr. Cayley’s proposal to give the leader of the House of Commons, as such, a salary equal to that of a Minister at the head of a department, was course treated as totally impracticable in accordance with our constitutional usages. Although it is customary to let a Cabinet Minister take into his own hands the conduct of the lead in the House, that usage, in fact, confers no office whatever. The person who thus conducts business is simply the most influential Member in the House;

and he as little earns a salary on that account as the leader of the Opposition, or an active independent Member like Mr. Hume. The opposition to the motion was very properly led by Ministers themselves; Lord John Russell showing incontrovertibly that it would be impracticable. Mr. Cayley withdrew his proposition.

The Lords have done some good service, not only in furnishing Lord Hardwick an opportunity of drawing attention to the manner in which the higher ranks in the Navy are burdened by very aged admirals, and otherwise in supporting Ministers to take a position of strength, but also in affording to Lord Lyndhurst the occasion of enforcing the necessity for consolidation of the statutes. Under that pressure the Lord Chancellor stated that some progress has been made towards perfecting a section of the consolidated statutes—that relating to injuries against the person.

Out of doors, the movement in favour of reformatory schools for juvenile offenders continues. At Gloucester, Mr. Barker told the success of a school which he had established at Hardwick. At Cardiff the Dean of Llandaff took an active part; and we have received, this week, the report of a successful school at Kingswood. Another movement consists in an association of Mayors and other gentlemen to resist the proposed change in the rural police. Mr. Rice’s committee recommended that the police should be rendered uniform throughout the country, without removing it from local management; the object being, to improve the efficiency of the body, and to prevent the immunity for thieves and disorderly persons from the conflict and separation of authority. The Mayors and their friends object to centralising the force under the Executive; but the movement, as yet, has made little noise.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

MINISTERIAL EXPLANATIONS.

EAGER for the fray, and anxious to criticise and condemn a Coalition Ministry of which he does not form a member, Lord CLANRICARDE notified last week that he would call the attention of the House of Lords to the question of peace or war. Monday, the appointed day arrived, the Lords had assembled, deep, no doubt, in the Blue Book each one, but there was no set debate, for the ex-Whig Postmaster-General had seen fit to defer his speech. In explaining why he told the House that he had understood, from the speeches of the preceding Tuesday, that the Emperor of Russia had virtually, though not formally, declined the last proposition made to him, and that negotiations were over. But the public papers, he went on to explain, stated that the Emperor had not sent in a formal reply; that there was the semblance of a negotiation going on at Vienna; and that while there remains ever so faint a prospect of peace, Lord Clanricarde will not be the man to bring on a discussion that might put an end to it. He would not “open very nice points.” But although he would not provoke discussion, Parliament must soon be informed on these matters. So he magnanimously contented himself with asking, whether any answer had been received from the Emperor of Russia, and whether the British Minister at St. Petersburg had received any instructions?

Lord CLARENDON urbanely met his noble friend, by thanking him for the consideration he had shown in postponing discussion, which he thought might be prejudicial to the slightest chance that “still remains of maintaining peace.” And then he gave this account, received only that afternoon of the recent doings at Vienna:—

“It was on the 2d of this month that the conference was called together, and this proposal, or rather counter-proposal, of the Emperor of Russia was communicated to the representatives of England, France, and Prussia by Count Buol; but I only received the official announcement this afternoon. It is not yet in the hands of my colleagues: I only had time to show it to my noble friend at the head of her Majesty’s Government, and therefore I prefer at this moment not to enter into any details; but I think it right to inform my friend and the House, that its terms were quite unacceptable, and where not of a character to send to Constantinople. Of that there is no doubt.”

Lord Clarendon then told how Baron Brunow had taken leave of him, on Saturday, and had broken off the relations subsisting between England and Russia; and he promised to lay before the House the last Note addressed to him by Baron Brunow and his answer.

Here another actor, always prompt and decided in his views, roused the House by a soldier-like view of the state of affairs, and a compendious plan for settling a peace. Lord ELLENBOROUGH said he had always told the House that “the Emperor of Russia was for nothing but war.” What profit could there be then in a retrospect of the conduct of her Majesty’s Ministers?

“I should exceedingly regret,” he exclaimed with earnestness and solemnity, increasing as he proceeded, “to find that her Majesty’s Government were deluded by anything that has recently taken place to relax in anything their preparations for war, or that anything that has taken place should have prevented them from increasing to the utmost possible extent the preparations for war. I have no doubt that we are at the commencement of one of the most formidable wars in which this country has ever been engaged. I deeply regret that the people of this country do not appear to be at all aware of the magnitude, of the probable duration, and of the dismal consequences of that war. Undoubtedly, for that war this country is not responsible; nor are her Majesty’s Ministers responsible; I acquit them altogether; I think that whatever they have said on the subject has been said with ability, and that they have been ably seconded by the various gentlemen employed by them at the different Courts of Europe; but I do conjure you to increase to the utmost possible extent every immediate preparation for war. War is inevitable; and that which is absolutely necessary is the preservation of the dearest interests of this country, that on the breaking up of the ice we should show a superior fleet in the Baltic. If her Majesty’s Government are not ready to do that, they are most deeply responsible to the country, for they had their eyes open, and they could not have been ignorant of the danger pressing upon us. I would impress upon her Majesty’s Government to increase to the utmost possible extent their preparations for immediate war; and that war will be one of the gravest in which this country has been ever engaged.”

Thus far Lord Ellenborough and the House were deeply impressed; how deeply may be judged by the reception of an equivocal sentence in the speech of Lord CLANRICARDE, who again thought fit to speak.

“I agree,” said he, “with the noble Earl in thinking that the war in which we are about to engage may very probably turn out one of the most disastrous.” (Here a burst of murmured disapprobation broke in two the sentence, and, correcting himself, he continued)—“disastrous, not perhaps to this country—(Hear, hear)—but disastrous to humanity.” (“Hear, hear” from Lord Aberdeen.) A retrospect, he said, would be useful. Ministers were not wholly irresponsible. “I agree,” he added, “that what has been said, both by the Government and by their diplomatic agents abroad, has been said with ability; but I think the right thing has not been said very often, and much that ought to have been said has been left unsaid.” Therefore a discussion was needful; the present state of things cannot last; and he named Tuesday next for a discussion.

Lord FITZWILLIAM expressed another shade of opinion. The present state of things cannot last, he said he, and “I am of opinion it has lasted already too long.” There is not even the shadow of a hope of peace. True, it was not impossible to avert in the early stages the state of things at which we have arrived; but whatever way a man may turn that in his mind, no alteration whatever ought to be made in the course Parliament must now take. Whether Ministers deserve credit or blame, it is the duty of every man to afford them the strongest support when engaged in war. However ignorant the people might be of the tremendous character of the war, “I am convinced,” he said, “that there never was a war in which the Government would be more cordially supported than in that in which we are about to engage.”

Lord BEAUMONT, following the cue of Lord Clanricarde, complained that the reply of Lord Clarendon was meagre. It is desirable to know whether we are at peace or war. But he put the case with clearness and point.

“The Emperor of Russia has refused his consent to the last proposition submitted to him; and not only has he refused, but he has stated that the grounds on which he is willing to enter into negotiations are grounds such as it is utterly impossible for any of the other powers to accept. Well, if things have arrived at this point, further negotiations with the Emperor of Russia must be altogether out of the question; and when he has withdrawn his minister here, and refused to accept what must have been our ultimatum, when, on the contrary, he insults Europe by offering proposals, at the eleventh hour, which he must have known would be refused—I say, when we have arrived at a point like that, that there cannot be any alternative but war or disgrace. At that state of things, if I understand the answer of my noble friend, we have now arrived; and therefore I think we are now entitled to know whether instructions have gone out from this country to recall our minister from St. Petersburg, or whether or not at this moment all negotiations have ended at St. Petersburg, in the same manner as they have ended in this country. I am reluctant—quite as reluctant as my noble friend near me—to enter prematurely into any discussion, nor do I wish now to refer to what has passed. I am willing to give the Ministers more credit, after reading the despatches now on the table, than I previously was, before I had seen them; but now we have arrived at that moment when hesitation, or the holding out of false hopes, and trying to believe that there is still peace when we are really at war, is a self-delusive course, which ought to be put an end to. Let us look things boldly in the face as they are, and not shrink from declaring that we are at war, if such really be the case.”

Lord CLARENDON, thus pressed, repeated his former statement with additions, and greater clearness. At the outset he frankly declared that he had held out no sort of hope that fresh negotiations were to be entered into, or that peace will be preserved.

“I can assure both [Lord Beaumont and Earl Fitzwilliam] that I have held out no such hopes at all. These negotiations, as I have informed your lordships, have been brought to a close at Vienna; and I also stated that I have received official information, so short a time ago that I han-

not yet been able to communicate it to my colleagues. I therefore thought it better not to enter into any details on the subject, but simply to say as much as would satisfy your lordships that they were wholly unacceptable—that they would not be transmitted to Constantinople—and, therefore, I have no reason to think that any fresh negotiations on that subject will be renewed. It is perfectly true, I believe, that Count Orloff, who has been at Vienna a few days on a mission with regard to the relations between Austria and Russia, and was about to go away, has now prolonged his stay. What the object of that prolongation is I am really unable to say. With respect to the other question asked by my noble friend, as to instructions to her Majesty's Minister at St. Petersburg, I can only tell my noble friend that as Baron Brunow only called upon me at half-past six on Saturday evening, and as it was necessary on this, as on all other measures that we have adopted, or shall adopt, to have a previous communication with the French Government, it has not yet been possible at this moment to send instructions to our Minister in Russia; but we have already had a communication with the French Ambassador on the subject, and instructions will be sent both to Sir Hamilton Seymour and to General Castelnau by their respective Governments tomorrow, which will place both those ministers upon the same footing with regard to the Court of St. Petersburg, and all diplomatic relations between the two countries will in the same manner be suspended."

Here the subject dropped and their Lordships went to dinner.

IRISH MEMBERS: CORRUPTION.

The purity of the Irish members has divided the attention of the House with the Eastern question. Mr. BUTT called the attention of the House, on Tuesday, to an article which appeared in the *Times* of Monday, commenting on the following story:—

"At a dinner, which was given in Tuam, and which was reported in the *Times* on the 30th of January last, I find these statements were made. The dinner is headed with the remark that it was most influentially attended by the clergy of several counties, by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Tuam—I hope the Attorney-General is not taking notice of the title I give him—(a laugh)—by the honourable member for Louth (Mr. Lucas), the honourable member for Mayo (Mr. G. H. Moore), and others. At this dinner, Dr. Gray, a gentleman who was a candidate for an Irish county at the last election, and, having some personal knowledge of him, of good position, stated that at the time when paid guardians were appointed to administer the affairs of the poor-law unions in Ireland, a friend of his consulted him as to a proposal made to him by a member of the House of Commons, and that that proposal was that he would obtain for his friend a Government appointment of paid guardian if he paid him (the member) one year's salary in return for the appointment. Now, it so happened that Dr. Gray had ascertained that this was an office which the Government were just about to dispense with—(laughter)—and, therefore, if the party purchased the office for one year's salary, he would, probably, only enjoy the salary for about five months. (Laughter.) Now, a more scandalous charge than this cannot be conceived, and bear in mind that it was made publicly to an excited audience, and in the presence of members of this House, as an illustration of the mode in which the business is managed in this House, and in which a Minister occasionally obtains a majority. There was another charge, made by a gentleman named Kelly, of whom I know nothing, but I presume, from the attention with which he was heard, and the rapturous applause which greeted him, that he is a gentleman of some station in the country. He stated that he knew of his own knowledge of a member of this House receiving 500*l.* on condition that he was to obtain the appointment of a stipendiary magistrate, with a promise of being paid 500*l.* more when he got the appointment; that, on a particular occasion, when the Minister was hard pressed on the eve of a division, this appointment was made; and then that the purchases of the office turned round upon the member who had got him the place, and refused to pay him the second 500*l.* (Laughter.) Now, if the matter rested here, there is not a member of this House who would not wish the matter to be investigated at once. This is a libel which reflects seriously on the character of the Irish members, but it is impossible, even if you were so disposed, to lower the character of one-sixth of the members of this House without also lowering the character of the whole of this assembly." (Cheers.)

Mr. BUTT argued that the article in the *Times* to which he alluded was a breach of privilege. If there could be any doubt of this, I think it will be set at rest by a paragraph or two from the *Times* of yesterday, which I will read:—"We have satisfied the theory of the constitution, as far as the Irish division of the empire is concerned, with no sparing hand, but we have not succeeded in obtaining a body of representation which an Irishman could look upon with satisfaction or an Englishman without dismay. In the name of constitutional Government, we may be permitted to ask, what does the section of Irish members represent, beyond the embodied wish of some hundred needy men to obtain place, salary, and position?" No distinction is made. Because it is stated, at the dinner at Tuam, that two Irish members have been found—it is not stated at what intervals—to be guilty of this high offence, this journal thinks it right to hold us up to the British public and to the whole of Europe, without qualification. I confess I felt indignant at reading this accusation, and I felt I should be justified in appealing to the sense of justice of English gentlemen in this House in a matter so serious. Mr. Butt moved that the article be read. Mr. O'CONNELL seconded the motion. The article was read, and then Mr. Butt moved that it be referred to a committee of privileges to examine and report. Again, Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL seconded

the motion, expressing a most earnest belief that the allegations would turn out to be mere calumnies. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, without a moment's hesitation, acceded to the motion; and trusted the investigation would be pursued to the end. Here Mr. JOHN BALL struck in with an explanation. He said the responsibility of appointing paid guardians did not rest with the Government; but with Mr. Twisleton, late chief commissioner of poor-laws; Mr. Power, the present commissioner, and Mr. John Ball himself. Now, no one was ever appointed without a public official recommendation; and no doubt every appointment could be traced.

Mr. LUCAS made a long speech, fiercely attacking the Whigs, and bringing forward, but without authentication, more accusations. He believed the statements of Dr. Gray and Mr. Kelly were perfectly true. He himself had frequently made "similar accusations in a general way."

"He believed them to be true. He had no doubt whatever that they were true—and, indeed, it was utterly impossible for any honourable gentleman to take part in the political conversations which were carried on with respect to the management of public affairs in Ireland, without hearing very frequently of cases of this kind, mainly on evidence which it was impossible for any man to disbelieve. (*Expressions of dissent.*) The difficulty in dealing with cases of this kind was simply that there were cases mentioned to you in private as matters of conversation by persons well acquainted with the facts, whose evidence could not be disbelieved, but you were not at liberty to mention their names, and could not break the seal of confidence under which the facts had been revealed. He had heard many honourable members relate to him facts of a similar kind, and he thought that it was utterly impossible for any gentleman acquainted with the details of political affairs to disbelieve that such transactions as these had taken place." Mr. Lucas said the *Times* had made these accusations before; and in proof he read an article published in September last, containing a sweeping accusation of venality against the whole of the Irish members. "When honourable members talked about an article in the *Times*, they were not, of course, to pry into the mystery of newspapers—that was a very delicate subject; but they knew that it 'wasn't nobody' that wrote the articles complained of, and they sometimes heard very exalted names mentioned in connexion with London newspapers. He did not know—perhaps nobody knew—whether the article in question might not have been written by a Secretary of State, or perhaps, at all events, it might have been written by a Secretary to a Board. (Laughter.) At any rate, what was matter of public notoriety was, that one of the proprietors of the *Times* was a member of the House—a supporter, and not the least efficient supporter, of the present Government—perfectly cognisant of all the rumours and talk of the Treasury bench, and one who did not insult his fellow-supporters of the present Government by making allegations which that Government itself believed to be false. The accusation brought against the whole body of Irish members he believed in general to be unfounded. He had never brought allegations of so general and sweeping a character against Irish members. He had, of course, never intended to include himself in the accusation, or those honourable gentlemen with whom he usually acted. He had brought no such accusation against Irish members upon the side of the House on which he sat. His accusation had been directed against those who, for a long course of years, had been connected in the commerce of corruption with successive Whig Governments—(laughter)—of which transactions the editor of the *Times* was a very proper and suitable witness." (Renewed laughter.) [Mr. Lucas was warmly egged on by the Opposition.] He criticised the article at great length in illustration of his position that the Whig Government subsisted by Irish corruption. He then brought several new accusations, but without giving the name of his authority—"which he was not at liberty to mention." The Ministerial benches ironically cheered this, whereupon he said—Oh, you think that my refusal to name throws a doubt on the accuracy of the statements—(cheers)—and inferred that they did not wish to hear them. This elicited indignant cries of "No, no," which Mr. Lucas, affecting to mistake, treated as a frank admission. After sparring in this way for some time, he brought among others this charge. He adverted to something which fell from the lips of the late Mr. Sheil in the interval between the Durham letter, which he had no doubt the noble lord the member for the city of London recollects, and the meeting of Parliament, at which the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was brought forward. During that interval some of the friends of Mr. Sheil were very anxious to know his opinion as to how the Government of the country was to be managed in future if the Whigs quarrelled with the Irish members. The answer of Mr. Sheil, as it had been reported to him—and the authority on which he had it so good that he had no hesitation whatever in saying that he believed it was—"Lord John Russell has calculated everything minutely—such and such a gentleman connected with the Treasury holds the Irish members in the hollow of his hand." The gentleman to whom Mr. Sheil gave this information was rather curious to know what this figurative language meant, and the explanation given by Mr. Sheil was, that before any great debate and division in which the Government, as Mr. Kelly phrased it, was to be hard pressed, an Irish member received a note stating that such a place was vacant and awaiting his recommendation to have it filled up, and that the recommendation was not acted upon till after the division, or, in other words, until after the member had given his vote in favour of the Government, or, if he happened to represent an unmanageable constituency, until after he had stayed away. Mr. Sheil added this statement—which it was possible the Government might not be cognisant—that a certain number of Irish members were in the habit, when they obtained these appointments, of taking them down to a person whom he describes as a broker, and selling them in the way the House had heard described in the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman. Such was what Mr. Sheil delib-

rately described in Dublin as the rationale of the relations which existed between the Whig Government and a certain party of Irish members, and the means by which the Whig Government of the day was to be kept in power. Mr. Lucas said he had received an answer by telegraph from Dr. Gray only five minutes before he began speaking, saying—"I am ready to attend at the bar of the House."

Mr. DUNCOMBE hoped the committee would not fail to call Mr. Lucas. But if an inquiry took place as to these Irish corruptions, it could not stop there. Only recently, in the Court of Chancery, a member of that House, Mr. George Hudson, had admitted to having secretly bribed influential persons with shares to the amount of 6300*l.*, to obtain their support on railway matters.

"The defendant, it appeared, had distributed those shares under the pledge of secrecy, and refused to name the persons to whom they were given, on the plea that it would be dishonourable and improper to do so, but offered to discover their names to the Master of the Rolls in private. Of course, the Master of the Rolls refused to have anything to do with so dirty a transaction, but in his judgment, which affirmed the decision of the chief clerk, he said, 'As to the 6300*l.* in respect of the shares distributed by the defendant, or under his direction, to conciliate the interest of certain parties in and out of Parliament, whose names the defendant had refused to discover, the defendant must be held responsible for that sum. Such a distribution was exceedingly improper, and as little creditable to the parties receiving the shares as to the defendant. Was a poor man who took a pot of beer, or, as at Liverpool, half-a-crown for his vote, to be placed in comparison in point of criminality with a man who had corrupted members of that House? They had disfranchised St. Albans and Sudbury for much smaller offences than were committed by Mr. Hudson. He therefore called upon the noble Lord to have this charge investigated. They wanted to know who were the corrupted. They knew who the corruptor was. He had sworn to it upon his oath; and they must admit that Mr. Hudson, in having to disgorge so large a sum of money, would be one of the most ill-used men under the sun, unless the parties who had been corrupted indemnified him now for their corruption, and returned him the money which he was obliged to repay to the railway company."

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and the House broke up in some excitement immediately.

When the House met for its brief Wednesday sitting, Mr. GEORGE HUDSON appeared, and continued the drama of the previous night; but being the sole speaker. His speech, a curiosity in itself, was intended as a reply to Mr. Duncombe.

"Sir," began Mr. Hudson, the House listening with a chill silence, "I am anxious to address a few words to the house in reference to myself. Last evening I was unfortunately absent, having to visit Sunderland on a matter of some interest to the inhabitants—in reference to a great public work. I was detained there yesterday, and I did not feel sufficiently well to come down to the House last evening. But had I been aware that a gentleman—a member of this House—was going to refer to myself, no inconvenience would have prevented my being here to meet that honourable gentleman. I have always understood that if observations personal to a member of this House are made, or are intended to be made in this House, it has been usual to give that honourable member notice. But would the House believe that on this occasion I received no notice whatever from the honourable member? nor was I aware that any mention was to be made of myself. Of this I think I have good ground and reason to complain. The charge which the honourable member has made has been extracted or read from the *Times* newspaper. I am not about to make any observations upon that paper, but it is unfortunate for them that generally in their charges against me they have founded their charges on acts which are either totally untrue, or which, if not untrue, have been of a character to admit of a different construction, and are, in fact, acts of which I shall to the last day of my life be proud. I should not have complained if the honourable member, along with the charge which he read from the paper, had thought it right in fairness or in common honesty to have read along with that a letter from my solicitor, which was addressed to the *Times*, repudiating in the most distinct terms the charge which they have made, and quoting the affidavit made by myself in the suit which has been the unfortunate subject of discussion. I never, on my honour, made, nor intended to make, either privately or publicly, any charge against any member of this House. It is utterly impossible, during my long intercourse with this House and with society, for any gentleman, be he whom he may or where he may, to charge me with having said, directly or indirectly, that I ever tampered with any member of this House, directly or indirectly. Therefore, I say the charge is as false and malicious as it is unjust and untrue. The honourable member is not content with reiterating that charge—he talks of 'disgorging.' He says that I am called upon to disgorge a large sum of money. I admit that by the decision of the tribunal to which he has referred I am so called upon. But neither that tribunal nor any other tribunals will venture to say that what I am called upon to disgorge, I ever, to a large extent, received. It is quite true that by a legal construction I am placed in that unfortunate position. Against that position, however, I believe I have a good right of appeal. But I say again, that it is admitted, even by my opponents, that a large sum of money which I am obliged to refund to that company never reached, nor could by possibility reach, my hands. Therefore, I say my position has been one of misfortune; I have been morally right, but legally wrong. But I have no objection, may I invite my accusers, if they think right, to take me from my cradle and follow me to this day, and if they can fix upon me any charge of dishonourable conduct, or of anything which would disentitle me to the confidence of my friends, I will bid adieu to this House and to my public position. But until I am convinced that I have done anything not only legally but morally wrong, I shall abide, amidst the vicissitudes of the press, or of any other individual who may



choose to attack my character or position. If I had perhaps consulted my own feelings or position, I might have pursued that path by proceedings in the courts; but through a long life I have abstained from so doing. I have felt what it is to live in popularity, and to enjoy the smiles and confidence of the world; and I have had a bitter reverse to bear. I hope I bear it with the fortitude with which a man who is conscious of his innocence should bear it. I may perhaps leave to posterity, and may in after life refer with pride and satisfaction to works which I have either projected or promoted—works of utility, which will bear my name, perhaps, when the honourable member for Finsbury (Mr. Duncombe) and myself are gathered to our forefathers—works which will bear comparison with that honourable member's conduct, either in public or in private life. I hope the honourable member will himself pursue the course which he wishes the Government to pursue. I am ready to unravel everything. I have stood the brunt before a jury of my countrymen. I have left that court attacked by all the virulence and ability of all the counsel that could be brought to bear against me. I have left it, after two or three hours' examination, with the smiles and congratulations of my friends and the discomfiture of my enemies. I have been subject to vituperation. There is scarcely a work which I projected, in the plenitude of my power, which has not been condemned at the moment, and with regard to which all sorts of charges have not been brought against me of being actuated by motives of anything but a public character. But I have already lived to see nearly every one of those works carried out. I visited, on Monday, one of those works, as to which, although it was forced upon me by the committee, I have seen my policy recognised as the right policy. They had better have given me a quarter of a million than have forced on me property which is now admitted to be worth 100,000, although at the time I was told that it was not worth the paper on which the title to it was written. I have this to leave to that posterity which will do me justice. I have seen times, and have had opportunities given me, when, if money had been my only object, I might have enriched myself to any amount. I have sat at boards when shares have been distributed and have been offered to me, and, on public grounds, I have declined them, and they have been taken by my colleagues. If money had been my sole object—I do not mean to say that the attainment of wealth is not a fair and right ambition—but if that had been my sole object, I say that means were placed in my power of such a gigantic nature that I might have revelled in it to any amount. But my colleagues will do me the justice to say that I rejected it on many occasions; and it is matter of satisfaction to me that I am enabled on this occasion to meet the honourable gentleman who has raised the charge, and has also adopted it—for he talks of "disgorging." Disgorging! There cannot be a disgorging of that which you never received. I might make some observations, but I refrain, because I seek to vindicate myself, not to cast imputations on another. I did think that the honourable member would have felt it his duty, after making this charge, to have attended in his place, either to withdraw or reiterate it; that having left the stings, he would have been present to-day, from a consciousness that I should take the first opportunity to vindicate myself. If the hon. gentleman will move for a committee to follow me from the cradle to the present day I am ready to meet that inquiry, and to abide by any decision that the committee may pronounce."

Of course further discussion would have been unbecoming, and the subject dropped at once.

THE OATH QUESTION.

This year the Jewish Disabilities question takes a new shape, and appears as one of the subsidiary portions of a plan to reform our Parliamentary oaths. On Monday night Lord JOHN RUSSELL moved that the House should go into Committee on the oaths taken by Members of Parliament; and asked leave to bring in a bill to alter them. In a speech of some length he showed the absolute profanity, absurdity, and uselessness of all the oaths taken at present except the simple oath of allegiance; and he proposed to abolish all three—namely, the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, and the oath taken by Roman Catholics—and to substitute for them an oath, framed in these terms, and omitting, it will be seen, the words "on the true faith of a Christian":

"I, A. B., do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria, and will defend her to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against her person, crown, and kingdom, and will use my utmost endeavours to make known and declare to her Majesty, her heirs, and successors, all treasonable conspiracies which may be formed against her or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend to the utmost of my power the succession to the Crown, as settled by the act for maintaining the succession in the House of Brunswick; hereby renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance to any other person claiming or declaring a right to the Crown of this realm. And I declare that no foreign potentate, prelate, prince, or person, hath or ought to have, any power, pre-eminence, or authority, direct or indirect, within this realm. So help me God!"

In treating of the oaths imposed on Roman Catholics, Lord John Russell established some positions useful to repeat. One of the clauses has been the subject of much dispute.

"Disclaiming, disavowing, and solemnly abjuring any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, as settled by law, within this realm." This part of the oath has given rise to some painful discussions; but I think it will appear that, with respect to any part of the institutions or legislation of this country, those who are admitted to make the law should have liberty to propose any alteration in our institutions or laws. They may, in fact, propose a repeal of the union with Ireland, and many other changes which would be subversive of our most valued institutions;

to say, therefore, that they should be debarred from proposing to subvert an institution in Ireland is, I think, going beyond that which you have any right to demand of members of Parliament. Besides that, it gives occasion, as I have said, to very painful discussions, because, supposing a certain number of members of this house to think, as it is notorious they do think, that the Church of Ireland is injurious to the country, and ought to be subverted, and supposing them to act on that opinion, they are immediately reproached with perjury, and with attempting what is not consistent with their oath. The matter is, in fact, left in doubt—there being some Roman Catholics who really think they are prevented by the terms of this oath from interfering in the question, and there being others who maintain that they are not so prevented, and that in perfect consistency with their oath they may propose any change respecting the temporal power of the Church. I do not think that question ought to be added to the political difficulties of the subject; *I think it ought to be on no man's conscience that he is not at liberty to give his vote in respect of political and temporal matters in this House as he shall choose.* (Cheers.) The oath goes on—"I do solemnly swear that I never will exercise privilege to which I am or may become entitled to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant Government in this kingdom." Now there are many who maintain that no vote given in this House, and no exercise of official functions, can weaken the Protestant religion. It has been maintained by Roman Catholics and by Protestants that religion, if binding on the conscience, cannot be disturbed or weakened by any law which may be passed by this House. I am not saying whether they are right in holding this opinion; all I contend for is, that this is not fit subject for an oath, and tends only to throw doubts on the real value of the engagement contracted. If the representatives of the people of the United Kingdom cannot maintain the Protestant religion and Government—if there were a great majority of this House opposed to that religion and Government, an oath would have no security at all."

The new point in the argument for the admission of the Jews, was the adoption of this opinion uttered by Lord Lyndhurst:

"No British subject, no natural-born subject of the Crown, ought to be deprived of the rights enjoyed by his fellow-subjects until he has committed some crime, or is excluded by some act of Parliament directed against him or the class to which he belongs. That is the true principle of the constitution, and, such being the case, those persons can only be justly excluded, with any shadow of right, by the concurrent voice of the two houses of Parliament, and with the assent of the Crown. If you exclude them by the casual operation of a clause which never was directed against them or the class to which they belong, you unjustly deprive them of their birthright."

"Sir," exclaimed Lord John, "this is great authority, and as regards the case of the Jews it appears irresistible." The new position arising from this is that Lord John threatened, as regards the admission of the Jews, to adopt the mode by which Mr. Pease, the Quaker, was admitted—namely, by resolution of the House.

"I think if the law remains in its present state—with those remarkable declarations of Baron Alderson, sitting on the bench, and of Lord Lyndhurst, giving a solemn, clear, and deliberate opinion in the House of Lords—it will be for you to consider whether or not you, sitting in this house, with respect to your own members, have not as good a right to say in what form the oath should be taken, as Lord Hardwicke, sitting in his court, had, when he decided the case of Omichund v. Barker, to say what was the form in which the oath should be taken. I think, if an alteration does not take place in the oaths, you will have a serious matter to consider. It opens a grave consideration. Lawyers of great eminence have taken one side and another on this subject. I wish the house to come to no hasty or immediate decision upon it; but I wish to say that it may be hereafter a question for the house to determine whether they should not consider the course that was taken by Mr. Pease, and that which has since been taken with respect to two gentlemen of the Jewish persuasion."

The motion that the Speaker should leave the chair was not opposed. Sir Frederick Thesiger tamely protested against the admission of Jews, using the hypocritical and worn-out argument that it would *unchristianise* the House. The committee gave the leave required; the House resumed, and the bill was brought in.

MISCELLANEOUS.

In reply to Lord SHAPESBURY, the Duke of Newcastle stated that the criminal code of Malta had been under the consideration of successive governors and councils of Malta for many years. There was the greatest possible difficulty experienced in reforming it, and it was not until last year that the efforts made for that purpose were successful. Therefore the Government thought it was most undesirable, unless it was absolutely necessary, to throw back for the consideration of the authorities in the island the whole of the criminal law; and, acting under the power reserved to the Crown, it was thought advisable that the code should be adopted, omitting the clauses relative to offences against religion. That course had been adopted by order in council, and the matter had been referred to the colony for further consideration. The effect of that course was, that for the present and until the code was finally settled, the old law should remain in full force and entirety.

Answering a question intelligently put by Lord LYTTELTON, Earl GRANVILLE said that Government were fully convinced of the total inadequacy of workhouse schools; and drew a shocking picture of that mode of educating pauper children.

Boys were brought up learning the habits of laziness they saw around them, and were corrupted by the impurity of the language which was frequently used in their hearing. The girls were in constant communication with the mothers of illegitimate children, and under the circumstances

it might be expected that they would follow the same course of life. He really believed that it was important to put an end to the hereditary system of pauperism that prevailed. It appeared that pauperism had become a sort of hereditary disease in some parishes. Some family names appeared on the records of the workhouse school for more than one hundred years, and some measure was absolutely necessary to put an end to such a disastrous state of things. The subject had been under the consideration of the different departments concerned in the matter, and at that moment engaged the attention of Lord Palmerston, with the view of introducing a measure respecting it, and which measure he hoped would be introduced this session.

Lord Jocelyn was snubbed by Lord John Russell on Monday night. Lord JOCELYN asked whether it was the intention of her Majesty's Government to propose the measure for the reform of the representation, of which the noble lord the member for the city of London had given notice, to the consideration of the House in the present position of our foreign relations?

To this impertinent question Lord JOHN replied curtly—"I will answer that question on Monday next." [That is on the day announced for the bringing in of the bill.]

In reply to questions, Lord Palmerston said, "It will be my duty to bring in a bill to consolidate the laws relating to the militia; and it is my intention in that bill to propose a mode by which a militia force may be organised for Scotland. It will depend on a vote of this House at what period it shall be enrolled."

Colonel DUNNE: "And as to Ireland?"

Lord PALMERSTON: "I see no reason myself for placing the three countries on the same footing."

LIMITED LIABILITY.—Mr. COLLIER obtained leave to bring in a bill relating to the Court of Stannaries, which has jurisdiction over the Cornish mines, and which he proposed to extend to the Devon mines. The most interesting feature is, however, its admission of limited liability in partnerships in mining companies. He proposed that mines which had conformed to the provisions of the Joint Stock Companies Act should be entitled to borrow money on the terms of the lenders participating in the profits, without being liable beyond their shares; and he proposed also that publicity should be given to the names of the limited and of the unlimited partners. This was, no doubt, an innovation upon the existing law of partnership in this country; but that law was not founded upon natural justice, while it was certainly opposed to the law of almost every other civilised country in the world. On the continent, the system called *partnership à commandite* had existed from a remote period. It existed in Italy in the middle ages; it was adopted in France, and was approved by the most eminent French jurists; it had found its way to Holland, where it enabled the Dutch to make those dykes and embankments which were one of the wonders of the world; and lastly, it had been adopted in the United States. Nay, even in England the greatest works of the age, our railways, our canals, and our fleets of steamers, were trophies not of the observance but of the breach of the law of unlimited liability in partnership. Had not Parliament interposed to break through the law of partnership, passing acts of Parliament and empowering the Board of Trade to grant charters, we should never have had either railways or steamboats; no great works requiring an aggregation of individual capitals could have been undertaken. The Birkenhead Docks would never have been constructed, and the Menai Straits would never have been arched over. He did not wish to impeach the conduct of the Board of Trade in granting charters, but they had a very difficult task to perform; they could hardly select one company for the grant of a charter without giving offence to another. He believed, therefore, that the adoption to some extent of the *commandite* system—that was, so far as to allow persons to lend to a company, and to receive a share of the profits without incurring unlimited liability—would be highly advantageous. It would enable plans of great value for the improvement of towns, and more especially for the improvement of dwellings of the labouring classes, to be carried into effect; for although persons were ready to advance capital for these objects, they were unwilling to undertake an unlimited liability under the present law of partnership, and thus to expose themselves to the risk of ruin.

In the brief conversation that followed, Mr. HUME, a convert, and Mr. WILKINSON, and Lord GODERICH, continued for a general application of the principle of limited liability. Mr. MOFFATT and Mr. VIVIAN supported the extension of the principle to mining concerns. Mr. WILLIAM BROWN stood out for unlimited liability, under which he had prospered, while he admitted it might be expedient to apply limited liability in mining companies and great undertakings. Government did not oppose the introduction of the bill.

Mr. CARDWELL wished to remind the House of the position in which the important question of limited liability stood. In 1851 a committee of that House sat more particularly to consider the question of the law of partnership. That committee recommended the appointment of a commission of inquiry, and immediately on the accession of the present Government such a commission was appointed, consisting of eminent legal and commercial men, which instituted a careful inquiry. "It must be obvious that on the first reading of a bill for extending the jurisdiction of the Stannaries Court, the House could pass no opinion on the greater question, which, on the recommendation of one of its committee had been referred to the consideration of a commission."

The motion was then agreed to, and leave given to bring in the bill.

THE "NAVY LIST."—In a very poor speech Lord HARDWICKE drew attention to the state of the *Navy List*. He pointed out that the admirals on the active list were all above 74 years old; that the youngest vice-admiral was 67; the rear-admirals and the reserved list pretty much the same. He criticised the regulations of promotion, to show that they were an unjust obstruction to the promotion of officers in the prime of life, many of whom were compulsorily placed on the retired list. Lord ABERDEEN insisted that the regulations were good and adequate. But surely, said Lord ELLENBOROUGH, you will not object to reconsider their details, seeing how much the service has altered, since being introduced, since they were framed in 1827. The

Government had always claimed, and in 1846 the late Sir Robert Peel claimed, the power of promoting any officer in the service to any rank which it might think advisable. It ought not to be in the power of any admiral to make such a promotion; but her Majesty's Government ought to reserve to itself such a power under an order in council. No such order in council could be passed without the First Lord of the Admiralty bringing the merits of the individual proposed to be promoted before the Cabinet; and the promotion in that case became a public measure of the highest importance, which would have to be defended in Parliament; and they might rest perfectly satisfied that it would not be adopted except under circumstances where the public would see that it was plainly demanded.

LAW CONSOLIDATION.—Lord LYNDHURST, after a brief but comprehensive view of the subject, asked the noble and learned lord on the woolsack what course he intended to pursue respecting the reports on the revision of the statutes? His own opinion was, that the most practical course would be to expunge from the statute book all the mass of statutes which had become obsolete, and to consolidate the remainder under distinct heads, with such amendments as might be deemed necessary. The LORD CHANCELLOR described what had been done on this subject by Mr. Belhaven Ker and other gentlemen whom he had appointed for the purpose of investigating the subject. These gentlemen had prepared reports, from which it appeared that out of between 16,000 and 17,000 statutes there were only about 2500 which were now living law. The commissioners were now proceeding with the consolidation of these statutes in groups, under the direction of Mr. Ker, very much upon the principle recommended by his noble and learned friend. The matter, however, was in the nature of an experiment at present. At the end of the year, however, he should look at the consolidated bills which these gentlemen would have prepared; and if he found them such as he could consistently submit to the House as fit to become the law of the land, he should lay them before their Lordships. At the same time he firmly anticipated that such would be the result of the experiment. If it were, further consolidation would be easy and rapid. Lord CAMPBELL expressed his satisfaction at hearing that everything which was practicable on this important subject was about to be undertaken.

GOVERNMENT DEFEATED.—On Thursday, Ministers sustained their first defeat. Mr. THOMAS CHAMBERS moved for a committee to inquire into some alleged breaches of treaty by the Portuguese Government. A British firm had been ruined by persistent litigation in courts to which they were not amenable. Lord JOHN RUSSELL opposed the motion, on the ground that committees on such subjects would take the affair out of the hands of Government. The House did not take that view, and by 126 to 74 carried the motion.

LEADER OF THE HOUSE.—Mr. CAYLEY moved for a committee to inquire into the duties of the member of the Government (Lord John Russell) leading the House, and to consider the propriety of making that post a paid office. He treated it as an anomaly that the Leader of the House should not be a Cabinet Minister. No one knew who was responsible for the advice given to the Crown. After a pause, Mr. STIRLING seconded the motion, but it was opposed by Sir C. WOOD and Lord J. RUSSELL, and finally negatived without a division.

NAVY ESTIMATES.—Sir J. GRAHAM brought up the navy estimates for the year 1854-55.

Lord J. RUSSELL: "I may state, for the convenience of the House, that on Friday next it is proposed to take the navy estimates."

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—At the suggestion of Lord MONTEAGLE, Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY promised to lay upon the table of the House of Lords a return of the railway accidents up to the present time; and to report such transactions in future from time to time. Lord CAMPBELL said that new legislation is required for the protection of the people of this country.

PUBLIC BUSINESS.—On the motion of Sir JOHN PAKINGTON, a select committee has been appointed to consider whether, by any alteration of the forms and proceedings of the House, the despatch of public business can be more effectually promoted. The committee nominated are—Sir John Pakington, Lord John Russell, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Evelyn Denison, Mr. Sootheron, Mr. Greene, Mr. John Ball, Mr. Wilson Patten, Mr. Brotherton, Sir George Grey, Mr. Walpole, Lord Stanley, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Bright.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

TROOPS FOR FOREIGN SERVICE.

Our Dublin correspondent says that military recruiting on a grand scale is to be commenced forthwith in Ireland, for the first time since the conclusion of Napoleon's wars. According to an ancient custom, which has been in the present instance adhered to, the Quartermaster-General has applied to the Lord Mayor of Dublin for permission to the recruiting parties to carry out their duties within his precincts—a form which was, of course, at once complied with; and we may expect to see the city traversed daily by parties with fifes and drums and gay fluttering ribbons. The following list of the regiments under orders for Constantinople (q.v.), with the dates at which they are directed to hold themselves in readiness to embark, appears in the *Dublin Mail* of Monday night:—

4th (King's Own)	22nd March
7th (Royal Fusiliers)	25th "
9th	6th "
14th	3rd "
17th	4th "
21st (Royal North British Fusiliers)	15th "

27th (Inniskillings)	10th "
28th	17th "
35th	13th "
38th	28th "
39th	2nd "
42nd (Royal Highlanders)	30th "
50th (Queen's Own)	18th "
62nd	5th "
63rd	7th "
79th (Cameron Highlanders)	29th "
82nd	16th "
88th (Connaught Rangers)	27th "
89th	1st "
90th (Perthshire Light Infantry)	9th "
93rd (Sutherland Highlanders)	21st "
95th	24th "

The following regiments will be all remaining in the United Kingdom to do home duty:—The 34th, 20th, 97th, 46th, 33rd, 77th, 91st, 12th, 19th, 23rd, and the Rifle Brigade.

It is intended early in the ensuing month that a camp, consisting of 30,000 English militia, shall be formed either at Chobham, or such other place as the general in command of the army shall deem fit.

Up to the end of last week 800 out of 1500 volunteers for the Coast Guard had been enrolled by Captain Craigie.

Great activity prevails in recruiting for the army, to augment the regiments to 1000 rank and file. A large number of recruiting parties have been recently sent to the manufacturing towns, also to Ireland and Scotland, to raise recruits, besides beating up at the head-quarters. Many fine young lads have offered themselves, and there is no doubt but the required number will soon be acquired.

THE NORTH SEA FLEET.

A fleet, under the orders of Sir Charles Napier, second in command, Admiral Chads, is to assemble in the Downs by the 6th of March. Seamen in considerable numbers, roused by the prospect of war, adventures, licking the "Rooshans," and prize money.

We have good authority for stating that the Government are making arrangements for supplying the intended Baltic fleet with coal at Great Grimsby.—*Manchester Examiner.*

An order was promulgated at Portsmouth on Wednesday afternoon, of which the following is a copy:—

"All Greenwich pensioners under 60 years of age, no matter how employed or engaged, are directed to attend at the Pension-office between this day and Saturday next, for the purpose of receiving a printed form to attend on Tuesday, the 14th inst., for inspection by officers from the Admiralty to ascertain their fitness for service. If this notice is not attended to they will be subject to loss of pension.

"Feb. 8, 1854."

The Lords of the Admiralty have at length become aware of the importance of manning the ships now fitting out as speedily as possible, and have accordingly issued a proclamation, commanding the services of one-half of the whole force of the Coast Guard, 3000, to be drafted into ships to aid in manning them. This is a most important measure. The Coast Guard are well disciplined thorough practical sailors and from the daily nature of their employment, the most inclined to the service of men-of-war's men.

Captain Austen and Lieutenant d'Arando have been busily engaged in inspecting the *Ripon* and the *Manilla*—two ships belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Company—previous to reporting to the Admiralty as to their capabilities for transporting troops to Malta or elsewhere, if required. Each of these vessels can take from 800 or 1000 troops easily, and double the number if needed. Other steamers are also available, and need only a few guns to render them fit for service.

A report having appeared in a London morning paper, to the effect that the Cunard steamers, or some of them, had been engaged to convey troops to Turkey, we have made inquiries at the offices of the company, where we learned that there is no authority for such a report.

Contracts were taken on behalf of the Crown, on Thursday, by Captain-Superintendent Courtenay, at the Royal Clarence Victualling Establishment, Gosport, for 1500 quarters of wheat, at an average of 88s. 6d. per quarter. The Clarence-yard is in most active operation, the officers and men being at work from six in the morning until ten at night. 100 fine bullocks are being slaughtered here weekly, 30 of which are salted—i.e., the finest parts of the beasts, for provisions for the navy. Biscuit-making, hammock bedding-making, and storing provisions of every description for the fleet, are going on with unprecedented speed.

It is said that four railway truck-loads of shells were sent off one day last week from the Carron Iron-works, by the Caledonian Railway, for the Czar.—*North British Daily Mail.*

A Greenwich paper states that "a Government office had recently been round the manufacturers in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, and that one of the effects of his visit had been the placing of the Ordnance mark upon some machinery on the premises of one of our most eminent firms. The machinery in question, it was said, was intended for the Russian Government."

A large number of packages and medical stores were sent

out for the Black Sea fleet by the *Indus* steamer, which left Southampton on Saturday with the India and China mail. A naval surgeon also went out in the *Indus* for the hospital connected with the Black Sea fleet. The surgeon and stores will be taken as far as Malta by the *Indus*; from thence they will be taken on to Constantinople. The British hospital is at Therapia.

THE POSITION AND PAY OF THE BRITISH SEAMAN.

We have received a copy of a useful little tract just issued by Messrs. Bradbury and Evans, entitled *Advice to the Mariners of England, and enterprising Youths inclined for the Sea Service, by a Seaman's Friend*, which deserves to be popular. It sets forth so clearly the advantages to be derived from service in the Royal navy since the new regulations respecting pay, provisions, and prize money, that in publishing a considerable extract from it we shall be doing real service to those who wish to choose an occupation which will secure a permanent provision for them:—

"A general impression prevails that, wages being much greater in the merchant service than in the Royal navy, seamen naturally prefer the former; and it is also supposed that remote advantages in the shape of pension, &c., do not influence the mass of seamen, who look more to present gains. But, in truth, there is no great disparity of wages, for, with the exception of that inconsiderable portion of our mariners who are settled down and adhere to one employment in the coasting trade, the wages actually earned in the Royal navy are greater than in any other sea service. It has been proved by a careful investigation, when estimating the income to be derived from a monthly levy upon wages for the support of the Merchant Seamen's Fund, that the average employment of the merchant seaman in foreign-going ships, being that branch in which the greatest portion are engaged, is nine months in the year; for the other three months, during which he is waiting for a settlement, or for a new engagement, or spending his money, he earns no wages, and is, moreover, thrown upon his own resources for food and lodging; and, taking the average of wages at the present inordinate rate to be 60s. per month, the merchant seaman earns 27s. in the year, supposing that he has incurred no fines during the voyage for misconduct, and made no sacrifice in cashing his advanced note. The seaman in the Royal navy is subject to no such deductions; for even when sick, or on leave of absence, his pay, and also his time for pension, go on accruing during the whole term of his engagement. In the rating of able seaman, he earns in the year 28s. 17s. 11d., while superior conduct will insure him good conduct pay, as hereafter shown, and improving capacity will assuredly advance him to higher ratings, when he will earn considerably more. Having pointed out this delusion respecting the disparity of wages, which is the only reason that can be assigned why the Queen's service (where the berthing, victualling, comfort, and treatment of the crew are admitted to be infinitely better) is not more generally preferred to the merchant service, I append a table showing the wages of working petty officers and seamen in the Royal navy, so that the seaman may contrast them with those obtainable in trading ships, and also become acquainted with the advantages held forth by the new as compared with the old regulations:—

A TABLE OF THE RATE OF WAGES IN THE ROYAL NAVY PER MONTH AND PER YEAR, UNDER THE OLD AND NEW REGULATIONS.

Rating.	NEW REGULATIONS.				
	Under the Old Entries.	Continuous Service, or Entry for 10 Years.	Difference in favour per Year.		
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Chief petty officers	3 2 0	36 10 0	3 9 4 1	1 3 4 11	3
First - class working petty officers	2 14 0	31 18 9	3 2 0	36 10 0	4 11 3
Second-class working petty officers	2 9 1	28 17 11	2 16 10 33	9 2 4 11	3
Leading seamen	6 6 27	7 6 2	14 3 18 9	9 4 11	3
Able seamen	1 4 24	6 8 2	9 1 28 17 11	4 11 3	3
Ordinary seamen	1 13 7	19 15 5	1 18 9 22 16	3 0 10	0
Second-class ordinary seamen	1 8 5	16 14 7	1 11 0 18 5	0 1 10	5
Boys (1st class), and naval apprentices	0 18	1 10 12 11	0 18 1 10 12 11	No diff.	
Boys of the second-class	0 15	6 9 2 6	0 15 6 9 2 6	No diff.	

"Seamen gunners, who are men trained in the *Excellent*, receive 2d. per day in the first class, and 1d. per day in the second class, in addition to all the other pay of their ratings. Mechanics and artificers have higher rates of pay than the first and second class petty officers, and have also from 2d. to 3d. per day additional for tools. Petty officers of all classes wear distinctive badges on the left arm, and are entitled, on their ship paying off, to gratuities varying from 11s. 4d. to 7l., depending on the rating and the time the ship has been in commission. Badges for good conduct not only distinguish the most efficient and best conducted, but give them substantial advantages in the shape of pay. Thus, with one badge or gold stripe on the arm, an able seaman would be entitled to 2s. 7d.; with two badges, to 6s. 2d.; and with three badges, to 7s. 9d. per month, or 41s. 8d. per year, which, in addition to the wages of a continuous

service man, would be altogether 332. 9s. 2d. per year. It is the continuous service, or entry for 10 years, that henceforth offers such great inducements for entering the navy, for it enables the seaman to embrace that branch of his profession which holds out the most advantages without risk of disappointment. The regulations for continuous service do not, however, preclude the entry of seamen for the usual period in particular ships; but all who enter can be retained for five years, and in the latter case it will be seen by the annexed table that the wages are less. At the end of 10 years' service—reckoning from 18 instead of 20 years of age as heretofore—the continuous service man may, on discharge, receive a pension of 6d. a-day, or 9s. 4s. per year; after 15 years' service, a pension of 8d. a-day, or 12s. 4s. per year; and after 20 years' service, a pension of from 10d. to 1s. 2d. a-day (average 1s.) or 18s. or 19s. per year. Petty officers and leading seamen's pensions are proportionately greater; so that the man-of-war's man may, at the ages of 28, 33, and 38 respectively, have earned a pension varying from 9s. 2d. 6d. to 40s. per year, according to his rating; and if called on to serve in the fleet, in the event of 'an armament or war,' he will receive his pension in addition to his pay; and he will enjoy this for life, being at the same time at liberty to earn what he can in the merchant service, or any other employment. The pension, after 20 years' service is certain; but the pensions for 10 and 15 years' service are granted at the discretion of the Admiralty; and as it is to be expected that, with the inducements now offered, the navy will never henceforth want volunteers, the opportunity will occur for maintaining a reserve of some thousands of these short-service pension-men well skilled in naval duties, under obligation to serve when called upon, should the necessity arise, but at liberty to follow their inclination in all other respects. Let us now consider the naval victualling. It will be seen by the scale annexed, that it is most liberal; and stringent measures have lately been adopted by the Board of Admiralty to insure that the articles supplied shall be of good quality:—

Present Scale of Victualling.—There shall be allowed to every person serving in her Majesty's navy the following daily quantities of provisions—viz., biscuit, 1lb., or soft bread, 14lb.; spirits, ½ gill; fresh meat, 1lb.; vegetables, ½lb.; sugar, 1oz.; chocolate, 1oz.; tea, 4oz. N.B.—Naval cadets and second-class boys are not allowed spirits.

"When fresh meat and vegetables cannot be issued there shall be allowed in lieu thereof—Salt pork, 1lb.; peas, ½ pint—every alternate day; salt beef, 1lb.; flour, 9oz.; suet, ¾oz.; currants or raisins, 1½oz.—every alternate day.

"And weekly, whether fresh or salt meat be issued—oatmeal, ½ pint; mustard, ¼oz.; pepper, 1oz.; vinegar, ¼ pint per man.

"The man-of-war's man's provisions are well cooked, and his meals regular. If he cannot consume his provisions, he is paid for them; if the salt meat boils away, he has an extra allowance. He obtains clothing of the best description at the same price that it costs the Admiralty; his berthing-place is dry, clean, and comfortable; his work light, as compared with that of any other seaman. He has the aid of an instructor, access to a library of nautical and other books calculated to interest him; and ample time and opportunity to improve his mind, and so qualify himself for promotion to warrant-officer, or even to the highest rank. His share of prize-money has been increased; and the distribution is now so graduated, that men in the higher ratings receive proportionably more than the unskilled—great improvement upon the regulation that formerly existed. Compensation is allowed for loss of clothes or effects by shipwreck or otherwise. If maimed or hurt, the man-of-war's man has a gratuity or a pension—according to circumstances—the best advice and attendance in sickness, and provision in Greenwich Hospital if crippled or worn out. The children of a man-of-war's man are educated in the schools of Greenwich Hospital, and receive free of expense to him, a training which fits them for any employment. He has six weeks' leave of absence whenever his ship is paid off, wages and term for pension being continued, and leave to go on shore from his ship for shorter periods, at other times, whenever the nature of the service will permit. He is eligible for appointment to the coast-guard, if one of those recommended by his captain for this service when his ship is paid off, or to become a rigger, or seaman-rigger in the dockyards. He may allot a portion of his wages for the support of his family, with the full assurance of its being punctually paid, which is not always the case with his brother seaman in the merchant service, who cannot have the same security for the punctual payment of his allotments, particularly where advances may not have been received from his ship. The man-of-war's man may also remit a portion of his pay. Notwithstanding the allotment, the man-of-war's man may receive 4s. monthly the first six months, and 10s. monthly after 12 months, out of his pay, and 20s. monthly if he does not allot, while the merchant seaman has no claim for any portion of his wages until the termination of the voyage."

"Now, there is no craft or trade in which the artisan or labouring man can engage in this or any other country that possesses such advantages as I have enumerated,—where a man may, when in the prime of life, after a few years' service, become possessed of an income sufficient to provide a home and ample maintenance for his family when he is absent and following his calling, and where he can, by good conduct, nearly double the amount of his pay and pension."

INDIA, CHINA, AUSTRALIA.

THE summary of the Overland Mail reached London by telegraph yesterday. The latest dates are Hong Kong, December 27; Burnah, December 26; Bombay, January 14.

India.—The steamer sent up the Persian Gulf for intelligence had not returned to Bombay.

Captain Latter, the Deputy Commissioner at Prome has been assassinated. The steamer *Medusa*

has been lost between Prome and Meaday. A Dacoit chief had assembled 5000 men near Fonghro. The garrisons at Moulmein and Matahar have been apprehensive of attacks. The Governor-General arrived at Rangoon on the 14th of December, and left for Prome.

Madras is threatened with famine. The rains and crops have failed. There have been grain riots in Mellore, and there will be a great loss of revenue. The Nizams are dominant in Abada State, and the country is overrun by predatory hordes. The north-west frontier is tranquil. Trade in India has improved.

China.—Canton and Ningpo remain quiet; matters have resumed their usual course at Amoy. A large portion of Shanghai has been burned down by the Imperialists. A portion of the rebel forces had proceeded northward, and had taken Teenthin, about eighty miles from Pekin. In China, trade was dull.

The Emperor of Japan is dead, and the Court goes into mourning for the year, during which no embassies can be received.

Australia.—The colonial Government at Sydney has been officially informed that on the 24th of September Admiral Des Pointes, French commander in the Pacific, landed at Balade, in New Caledonia, and took possession of that island and its dependencies in the name of the French Emperor.

[The loss of Captain Latter is a severe one. He was one of the most enterprising and able officers in the British army of Burmah.]

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

WHEN we established a Paris correspondence, two years ago, Paris was the centre of European politics. It is no longer: all eyes and all ears are turned to another and distant point of the horizon. France has visibly accepted the Imperial régime. This acquiescence may be the result of apathy and indifference, or of that lassitude which succeeds to the loss of illusions, and that prostration which is not repose. With many, no doubt, the impotent hatred of the power that degrades while it protects is only equalled by the fear of flying to the unknown for a change. The single fact we are concerned with at present is the acceptance of the existing Government by the French nation. Where is there any evidence to the contrary? If there be any public spirit left in France, it points to distant camps as the field of its expansion. In the capital as in the departments there is quiet if not confidence, and cold respect, if not enthusiasm, for the Emperor. Acknowledging this state of feeling and opinion as a fact, it is not our business to snarl at the elected Chief of the French nation. It is not our business to propagate the industry of *on dits* and *inventoires*, with which discarded statesmen and impossible factions seek to avenge the material comfort and tranquillity of subjugation. We have little sympathy for that opposition which is incapable even of the dignity of defeat.

Under existing circumstances, we have resolved to discontinue the series of Letters from Paris, which has now extended over two years. There is nothing special in Parisian news at present; nothing that does not fall into the domain of our daily contemporaries, except the whispers and the slanders which belie the fitness of their authors for a nobler and freer atmosphere.

We shall continue, nevertheless, to give our readers the benefit of occasional private communications from the pen of one of our most distinguished *confrères* in the French press. These summaries will not take a form exclusively political. They will resume, as it were, every phase of French society.

Baron Brunow passed through Calais on Thursday morning.

The *Moniteur annonaçce*, in the following laconic terms, the departure of M. Kisseloff:—"The Minister of Russia left Paris on Monday."

M. Kisseloff left Paris by the 8 o'clock train on Monday evening for Brussels.

One of the attachés of the Minister of Foreign Affairs left Paris on Tuesday with despatches recalling General de Castelbajac, the French ambassador at St. Petersburg.

By an Imperial decree, dated the 2nd, the convocation of the Senate and of the Legislative Body, fixed for the 27th instant, is adjourned to the 2nd of March.

It is stated that the French Government has concluded a loan for an amount equal to 8,000,000 francs with the Credit Mobilier against Treasury Bonds bearing 5½ per cent. interest, the option being allowed of exchanging them for Three per Cent. Rentes at the price of 72. It is also said that the Bank of France have made an advance to the Government of 2,400,000 francs.

The military preparations in France are being pushed on with great energy. Decrees are expected calling out the remaining moiety of the contingents of 1849 and 1850, and

the whole of the contingent of 1852—a total of 160,000 men, so that in a short time the army will be raised to 550,000 effective men. One manufacturing establishment in Paris has received an order for the supply of 150,000 harness, and another for 26,000 shirts, and other minor establishments have similar orders in proportion. Large orders have also been given for an immense supply of harness and similar equipments for the artillery. Letters from the departments announce that the young soldiers are already en route for their destination.

In addition to these signs of preparation, an order has been given to an extensive ironmaster in the department of the Pas de Calais for 8,000,000 cannon balls, of various dimensions. It is also asserted that the decrees for the movement of the expeditionary force intended for the East are actually prepared, and only want the signature of the Emperor. The precise amount is not stated, or rather it is variously stated, but the general opinion is that it will, at least for the present, be composed of four divisions of 10,000 men each.

The French ocean squadron, stationed at Brest, commanded by Admiral Brut, has gone to sea from Brest, according to orders received on the 3rd inst. This squadron is believed to be under orders to proceed to Toulon, to Algiers, and to Civita Vecchia, to embark the expeditionary troops for Constantinople. It is reported in France that the squadron will join, in the spring, the British squadron, under the orders of Admiral Corry. The *Trident* and *Ville de Marseilles*, ships-of-the-line, have been put in commission at Toulon, and are to be fitted for sea immediately. The greatest activity prevails in the naval dockyard in that port, and in about six weeks six sail-of-the-line and a sixty-gun frigate will be completed ready for active service.

General Pelissier has organised the first division of 10,000 men to be sent from Algeria. Various officers are named for the command of the expedition. Generals Caulrobert and Ferrière (son-in-law of Marshal Bugeaud) are among the most probable.

The *Débats*, usually well informed in diplomatic matters, gives the following summary of Count Orloff's mission:—"Count Orloff was the bearer to Vienna of a counter-proposition from the Emperor of Russia, in answer to the last proposition of the Conference of Vienna. That counter-proposition had been judged unacceptable. The representatives of the Four Powers at Vienna had drawn up and signed a protest to that effect, which was to be sent to St. Petersburg, and in which it was declared that the last offer of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg were not of a nature to be sent to Constantinople. Count Orloff had, besides, made a second proposition—that of forming a league of neutrality between Austria, Prussia, and the Powers of the German Confederation. The Cabinet of Austria had, it is said, replied that it was impossible for them to bind themselves to neutrality. Count Orloff has, therefore, failed in the objects of his mission."

Later intelligence, however, throws doubts on the positive failure of Count Orloff. He is said to have received promises of the complete neutrality of Austria and Prussia; neutrality upon the exact conditions of which, under all possible eventualities, the Western Powers will have to demand explanations.

Count Orloff left Vienna at nine o'clock on Wednesday morning, direct for St. Petersburg. He was delayed by indisposition consequent upon the fatigues of his rapid journey—a species of indisposition to which Russian diplomats are peculiarly subject.

From Berlin we have letters reporting a palace conspiracy, conducted by the Prince of Prussia, to persuade the King his brother, to abdicate, on the ground of the King being disposed to a Russian rather than to a rational policy. The endeavour to supplant the wayward and irresolute Frederick William, by his headstrong and self-willed brother, would not be the first. In 1847, when the King first granted the shadow of a constitution, and again in 1849, a similar attempt was made. It must not be forgotten that the Prince of Prussia, who is now reported to hold such lofty language in the sense of resistance to Russia, and a national German policy, is the same Prince of Prussia who in 1847 refused to take the oath to the constitution, and was only prevailed upon to do so under protest; the same who in '48 was so unmilitant an absolutist, that he was forced to fly to England, leaving his palace to the vengeance of the people; and who in '49 was marching to tread out the last vestiges of constitutionalism in Germany, under the auspices of the Czar. This recent conduct of the Prince may therefore be the result of a profound calculation of Russian diplomacy. But the fact requires confirmation. We only mention it as we have received it, on the faith of correspondents on whose authenticity we can perfectly rely.

Whatever be the attitude of the German dynasties, the German nation, north and south, is violently anti-Russian. Not only the Prussian journals, but the sole organ of the national interests permitted in Austria—the *Vienne Lloyd*, devotes nine of its columns to an exposure of Russian selfishness and diplomatic craft, as exemplified in the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Adrianople. For this purpose the *Lloyd* prints the whole of the confidential memorandum by Pozzo di Borgo, dated Paris, Oct. 16, 1825, and lately published at Paris. After giving especial prominence to those passages in which the wily ambassador shows how Austria is to be by turns terrified and cajoled into the Russian alliance, the *Lloyd* reminds the Austrian public that the despatch as plainly describes the policies of Russia in the present crisis as in the period in which it was written.

We mentioned in our last number that the combined fleets had returned to their anchorage in Beicos Bay, to the astonishment and disappointment of Constantinople, on the 23rd instant. The causes assigned by the Admirals were the want of good ports, the dangers of the navigation, and the shortness of provisions. They had despatched a steamer to the Ambassadors, from Sinope, announcing their return. It appears the Ambassadors were equally surprised and indig-

mant at this unexpected infringement of their positive instructions. On the 18th they despatched the *Sampson*, steam-figate to the naval chief with the following communication:

"The Ambassadors cannot but express their astonishment at learning the sudden resolution of the admirals, particularly at the present moment, when a Turkish flotilla is on the point of setting out with stores and ammunition for the army of Anatolia."

"The orders of the French and English Governments, which arrived here ten days back by the *Caton*, were formal and precise as to the protection which the combined fleets ought to accord to the Turkish flag and territory; and the two admirals are again requested to make themselves perfectly alive to the peremptory nature of those instructions which have already been communicated to them."

"It would seem that the admirals are of opinion that the measures, the execution of which is entrusted to them, may be as well effected whilst the fleets are at Beicos Bay as if they were at Sinope. In that matter the admirals can only consult their own opinion, and the responsibility will remain with them."

"The Ambassadors abstain from all intervention in what relates to matters of nautical interference. The wishes and intentions of their Governments having been duly notified to the two admirals, it is for them to conform to them, and to find means of taking them more clearly into consideration to carry them into execution."

With the exception of two merchant vessels, they did not see a Russian sail while out. They were six days beating up from Sinope to the mouth of the Bosphorus. The *Vesuvius*, Captain Powell, the *Hightower*, Captain Moore, and the *Sidon*, Captain Goldsmith, had joined the fleet. They were five days beating up to Beicos from Sinope. The *Niger*, sent to intercept and order them back, missed them. The Turkish governor at Sinope had been indefatigable in procuring all kinds of stores for the ships. The scene at Sinope was deplorable—numbers of unburied corpses on the shore, and a heap of smoking ruins. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe is said to have personally expressed to Admiral Dundas his disapprobation at the return of the fleet. Their return had occasioned painful rumours circulated by the Russian faction, such as "Dissensions between the Admirals." The fleets were to proceed to sea again on the 27th or 28th. On the 27th the steamers were getting up their steam. The screw ship of the line *Charlesbourg*, the steam-figate *Gomer*, and another French frigate, together with a British screw ship of the line and two steam frigates, sailed on the 25th from the Bosphorus for Varna. Independently of a second Turkish convoy which is to sail under the protection of the fleet, portion of the Turkish squadron was expected to enter the Black Sea on the 28th. Meantime the *Fury* has gone to Sebastopol, on a similar mission to that of the *Retribution*—that is, to demand the release of some Englishmen who were employed as engineers on board the Turkish merchant steamer *Tidjari Midgaret*, recently captured by the Russians. I also learn that the *Fury* is the bearer of a despatch to the Russian admiral in command at Sebastopol, relative to the discourteous, or rather semi-hostile, reception given to the *Retribution* at that place a short time since. Altogether, the *Fury* has a very awkward mission, and her return is anxiously expected.

The fact is confirmed that the officers embarked on board the *Retribution* had succeeded in making a plan of Sebastopol. A draught of the plan had even been published and sold at Constantinople, and copies sent to France and England.

Sebastopol is considered to be almost impregnable by means of a fleet alone, without the co-operation of a land force. The guns amount altogether to 700—some of long range, and bearing on the open sea, others so disposed as to defend by their cross fire the immediate entry of the port. All these are in a perfect state, and the number of men to serve them is believed to be considerable. The forts have the form of a tower, and almost all of them have three tiers of guns. The coast, however, within a few miles of Sebastopol, is easy of access, and, according to the reports of our officers, its capture might be effected with about 25,000 men at the present moment. Later, however, and should the Russians be allowed to fortify these points, double that force would be required.

Military operations in Asia are suspended by the weather. General Guyon is doing wonders in restoring the army to discipline and efficiency. General Baraguay d' Hilliers was contemplating a tour of military inspection.

A vast conspiracy, with the object of raising in insurrection the Greek population on the banks of the Danube, has been discovered. It is believed that many eminent persons at the Court of Athens are concerned in the scheme.

M. Metaxa, the Greek Minister at Constantinople, has incurred suspicion. The arrest at Widdin of a Greek priest, named Athanasius, had led to the discovery of this conspiracy organised by a secret society in concert with Russia. The arrest of that Muscovite emissary led to that of Baron Elsner, a Russian officer. The Turkish police, directed by Arif Pasha, discovered the accomplices in this conspiracy, which extended to Bulgaria, Janina, Salonica, Smyrna, and the principal islands in the Archipelago. Important letters had been seized, and proved that there are forty-four persons in Constantinople seriously implicated, of whom four are Russian officers, and one of them was formerly Russian Postmaster-General in the Levant. Such is the respect for order and authority professed by the Russian Government. Severe orders have been given to shoot all spies, and the vigilance of the police was increasing daily.

The telegraphic reports of the changes in the Turkish Ministry are conflicting, and require confirmation. According to one the Seraskier, or Minister of War, Mehemet Ali, and the Capudan Pacha, or Minister of Marine, had resigned, and been succeeded by Riza Pacha and Ahmed Pacha. But the Capudan Pacha, who is said to have resigned, is, in fact, no other than Riza Pacha, who is said to succeed somebody, perhaps himself. Whatever these changes may be, it is certain that they are only in the sense of a more united

action, and not at all as the Vienna telegraph would have us believe, of a compromise with Russia. In the present temper of the Turkish population, flushed by victories, and assured of the active aid of France and England, any idea of compromise is simply impossible.

On the Danube there have been no large or decided operations since the battle of Citate; but there have been continual and severe skirmishes with the Russian outposts, in which the Russians have suffered very severely. Omer Pacha was reported to be seriously ill. The fact is doubted, beyond, perhaps, an attack of acute rheumatism, to which the Pacha is subject, but the latest accounts report him perfectly recovered. The rumour that he had crossed the Danube at Oltenitz, and cut off the communications of General Gortschakoff (whose centre is at Bucharest, his left at Galatz, and his right wing at Krajova), is not confirmed. But decisive operations may be expected shortly.

Omer Pacha has divided his army into three independent corps. The first corps—about 45,000 strong—forming the left wing of the army, is commanded by Ismail Pacha, whose head-quarters are at Florentin, and where he is watched by the Russian General Bellegarde; his flanks rest on Widdin and Orsova. The second corps—about 48,000 strong—forms the centre of the army, has its head-quarters in Sistova, and stands under the command of Mustapha Pacha, so well known for his ability as a commander. The third corps—the right wing of the army—with head-quarters in Karassu, at the wall of Trajan, is commanded by the able Halli Pacha; it is said to be now about 46,000 strong. Since the arrival of General Schilder a retrograde movement of the Russian forces in Wallachia has been observed. Since the battle of Citate the Turks seem inclined to take up the offensive upon all fortified points of the Danube, whilst the Russians, probably awaiting fresh reinforcements, have taken up a rather defensive position.

According to General Schilder's report the Russian army of occupation in the Danubian provinces is in a pitiable condition; the original corps being 35,000 men weaker than when it crossed the Pruth in July last. It appears that not only General Gortschakoff, but General Daunesby, is in disgrace with the Emperor.

The peasants in Wallachia are in such a state of misery that they have no other resource than death or insurrection against the Russians. The exactions of the Russian military authorities are incredible. They take from the inhabitants cattle, corn, and all means of existence. The peasants are consequently compelled to fly their homes, and the sowing of the land is completely neglected. The greater number of the inhabitants of two villages are mentioned as having absolutely refused any longer to comply with the requisitions of the Russians, and to have drawn *en masse* to the mountains. Prince Gortschakoff, on hearing of this unexpected act, sent troops to surround the villages, and announced that if on the instant the remaining inhabitants did not themselves submit and answer for the return of their companions, fire and sword should be set to work. The peasants refusing to answer for the absent villages were burned to the ground, and a great number of persons massacred. The mountains were being filled with guerrilla corps composed of the young peasants. Two of these bodies consisted of not less than 1200 men. Unfortunately, they have very few guns and ammunition. Should the country rise at the moment that they are pressed by Omer Pacha, their position would become exceedingly critical. It is also rumoured that the formation of a Roumelian legion by the side of the Polish legion already in arms is not unlikely, and it is remarked that such a step would be a fair answer given to the formation of the Greco-Slavonian corps imagined by Prince Gortschakoff, but which idea, as yet, he has not been able to carry into execution. This Greco-Slavian legion is intended in spring to form the pivot of the insurrections which the Emperor of Russia is preparing on the Turkish frontier.

A Wallachian General, two or three American officers, and several French and Swedish officers, have arrived at headquarters to take service in the Ottoman army. Before the entry of the fleets into the Black Sea the Russian cruisers were constantly in observation upon the coast of Varna. They have since entirely disappeared, and the Turks have complete possession of the Euxine.

The Turkish firmans confirming the rights of Servia were published on the 4th instant.

A new form of prayer, no doubt designed to assist the Russo-Greek conspiracy, has been translated in the Romanic language, and thousands of copies distributed among the people of the Danubian Provinces. After a general supplication for all Orthodox believers, for the holy and unerring Synod and the clergy, comes a special prayer for the most pious Autocrat, the Grand Master (*Marele Domnul*), and Emperor of All the Russians, Nicholas Pavlovitch, the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, and their family, the Court, and the army—"and may God protect them, and cast all their enemies and the malevolent at their feet." After this follows a prayer recently composed by the Russian Synod, in which there is the following passage:

"We pray to Thee, O God, to protect Thy holy orthodox Church, Thy servant Nicholas Pavlovitch, the most pious Autocrat, the Grand Master and Emperor of All the Russias, from all evil, passion, and distress, to preserve him from all enemies visible and invisible, to grant him peace, health, and a long life, and to encompass him with Thy armed angels."

Then comes another production of the holy Synod, in which mention is made of the army, and its brilliant deeds of arms, as also of those of Moses against Pharaoh, and of David against Goliath. The conclusion of the *Te Deum* is:

"Give, O Lord, to the Emperor Nicholas, to the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, and to their offspring, happy days, a peaceful life, health, and safety, and grant them the victory over all their enemies."

An Austrian *corps d'armée* is marching towards Servia. The following is another account of the battle of Citate, which, though brief, is nevertheless of great interest, and

very correct, having been written on the spot by a foreign staff officer:

"On the 6th of January a glorious engagement took place. The Russians had occupied Citate with three battalions of infantry, artillery, and cavalry. The Turks marched out of Kafafat with 12 battalions of infantry, 20 cannon, and 3 regiments of cavalry, in order to surround the Russian force occupying Citate. At the village a fierce engagement ensued: 1500 Russians were killed, and the Turks lost 1000 men between killed and wounded. Whilst the attack upon the village was continuing, the Turks had left 5 battalions of infantry and 10 pieces of artillery at some distance to their rear, in reserve. A strong Russian force, which the Turks estimate at 9 battalions of infantry, 16 guns, and 2 regiments of cavalry, suddenly showed itself, and commenced an attack upon the Turkish reserve. The Turks did not lose courage, though they were thus being cut off from Kafafat; but turned and faced the enemy, and immediately gave battle. They fought most bravely, and in half an hour so pounded the Russians with grape-shot that they retreated in the greatest disorder. The Russians abandoned the villages they had occupied, and the Turks returned to Kafafat as victors. This is the pith of the story." A letter from an English officer mentions, as a proof of the number of Russian muskets left on the field, that they were selling at Widdin at 5s. each.

A journal has just been created for publishing the official orders of the Russians, its title is the *Wallachian Moniteur*.

A corps of 500 Dorobanzos (Wallachians) has just passed nearly entire over to the Turks. All that remain are 13 privates and 2 sergeants.

Letters from Adrianople, of the 22nd, inform us that the Greek bishop has ordered public prayers to be offered up for the Sultan, his Ministers, and the Turkish generals.

From Switzerland we learn all the deputies of Ticino to the National Council and Council of States, at present assembled at Berne, have recently had a conference with the President of the Confederation to consider how the question with Austria may be arranged. The result has not transpired. The general opinion at present at Berne is that the question is in the way of arrangement.

The Council of States, after a three days' debate, have decided not to entertain at present the question of the Federal University. They adopt, however, the proposal for the Polytechnic School, which will be established at Zurich. The decision of the Council of States has taken people by surprise, more particularly as the majority is a large one—27 against to 15 for. The committee to which, according to custom, the measure was referred for a preliminary report, had reported in its favour. The Council of States is composed of deputies named by the cantonal Governments, two for each canton; in the National Council, on the other hand, the members are popularly elected, and the number of members for each canton is proportionate to its population. Thus the National Council reflects the opinion of the majority of the population; the Council of States that of the majority of cantons. This explains the greater opposition in the latter body to a measure regarded as one of centralisation.

It has been decided that two military camps of review should be formed in August next; one in French Switzerland, under the command of Colonel Bonsens, deputy for Vaud, and the other in German Switzerland, under Colonel Ziegler, deputy for Zurich. The commencement of the works on Swiss territory for the Geneva and Lyons railway was lately celebrated by a *fête*, at which General Dufour, the Swiss commander-in-chief, and one of the directors of the company, presided; and the members of the Geneva Government all attended. A conference had been held at Berne of deputies from the different cantons, with a view to the establishment of a code of commerce for the whole of Switzerland.

Silvio Pellico, the prisoner of Spielberg, died on the 1st instant, in the sixty-first year of his age. Few are not familiar with the sad story of his Austrian prison, from which he was released in 1830. Since then he has lived in retirement as librarian and secretary to a noble lady. He leaves a brother and a sister, who will, says the *Armorial*, of Turin, render the best possible homage to his memory, by publishing his manuscript works, which are voluminous, and among which is one entitled, "My Life before and after my imprisonment."

The Sardinian Government is actively preparing for the eventuality of war on the Austrian frontier. A Dutch squadron of frigates has arrived at Genoa.

Great agitation, incessantly fanned by contradictory rumours, prevails throughout Italy. At Milan, Marshal Radetzky has threatened the authors of false reports with condign punishment. Thirty thousand Croats are expected to reinforce the garrison at Milan. At Naples the Muratists party is increasing daily.

The King of Naples (writes a correspondent of the *Times*), who is body and soul devoted to Russia, ardently desires the triumph of the Caar, for on the success of Russia lies his hope of the restoration of his French cousins the Bourbons. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Dukes of Parma and Modena, tremble at the name of war, for they have neither moral nor material force to defend themselves. The Court of Rome is divided on the great question of the day. The Pope and several of the cardinals apprehend the aggrandisement of Russia; because it would be the triumph of the Greek Church—of a schismatic religion, which would aim at the overthrow of Catholicism, while Cardinal Antonelli, the Secretary of State, and all the members of the Pontifical Government, who are only interested in the political question, hold good for Russia.

The young Princess of Asturias, the only surviving child of the Queen of Spain, is dangerously ill. Her death would once more open the succession to the Duchess of Montpensier.

A democratic conspiracy has been discovered. General Joseph Concha has been declared a rebel. He has escaped from Barcelona.

THE AUSTRALIAN EXPEDITION.

A DEPUTATION, consisting of Messrs. Moffatt, M.P., Gregson, M.P., W. J. Lindsay, Powle, McLaren, and several other gentlemen interested in Australian affairs, waited on the Duke of Newcastle, on Saturday, at the Colonial-office, for the purpose of communicating their views respecting the conduct of the proposed Government expedition to the interior of Australia. Mr. Moffatt, M.P., having introduced the deputation, Mr. Lindsay said that the merchants of the City of London being chiefly interested in the prosperity of Australia, had been much gratified to learn that the Geographical Society had recommended an exploratory expedition to the interior of that country, and that the Government had responded to that recommendation by offering a grant of 2500*l.* for the purpose, which grant he understood they had subsequently determined to increase to 3000*l.* Being himself connected with Australia, he had given the matter much consideration, and feared that unless the expedition were made a really effective one, the grant of 3000*l.* would be thrown away. His opinion was that 5000*l.* would be necessary. With this view a committee had been formed for the purpose of raising the balance of 1500*l.*, a sum which would be raised without difficulty in the City. The committee were most anxious to impress upon his grace the fitness of Mr. Haug for employment in the proposed expedition. The committee had had much communication with that gentleman, and were fully impressed with his energy, zeal, and ability. The committee were aware that once the matter had been taken in hand by Government, it would be impossible to invest a foreigner with the command of the expedition, but they respectfully suggested that a departmental appointment might be found in it for Mr. Haug which would be acceptable to that gentleman.

The Duke of Newcastle expressed his regret that he had not yet received the answer of Captain Stokes, to whom he had written respecting the conduct of the expedition. He believed that the committee were aware that it was the intention of Government to entrust the conduct of the expedition to that gentleman, respecting whose fitness there was a very general concurrence of opinion. With respect to the expense, they were aware that the proposal had originated with the Geographical Society, which body had called on him at the close of last summer, and expressed their opinion that the first sum which had been named would be sufficient. Subsequently, however, they had seen reason to alter that opinion, and to conclude that to carry on an expedition worthy of a nation 3500*l.* would be necessary. He believed that, if they had applied, the Treasury would have consented to give that sum. But it had occurred to him that the Government should take the matter into their own hands, on such a scale as should give fair prospect of opening up the internal resources of the country. He had communicated his view to the Geographical Society, and it had received their cordial assent. He then informed them of the course he proposed to take, which was, having first selected the individual who was to conduct the expedition, to call on him to lay before Government a complete plan including all details, and that having consulted the individuals most competent to advise him, he should submit a list of his various assistants. It would then be for the Government to decide whether the expedition should start at once, with recommendations to the colonial governors, or whether, looking at the period of the year, it would be better to postpone the expedition, communicating with the governors in the meantime. However, all that he wished to leave undecided until he received the general report to which he had alluded. With regard to Mr. Haug, he could assure the committee that there was no disposition to pass over the claims of that gentleman, or to deprive him of that fair share in the undertaking to which he (the Duke of Newcastle) thought him fully entitled. He had had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Haug, having felt it due to him to communicate with him before he did with the Geographical Society. He had explained to him how, under the altered circumstances of the case, he should not be able to entrust the expedition to his guidance, not so much on account of his being a foreigner, as from the feeling of the public that in a field of exploration in which so many eminent men had distinguished themselves, it was desirable that one of those should be at the head of the proposed expedition, and not a man who had never been in the country, and, therefore, was practically unacquainted with it or its climate. Mr. Haug had fully entered into that view, and he (the Duke of Newcastle) had told him that when the expedition was being organised under Captain Stokes it was his wish that he (Mr. Haug) should have a position in it such as should fairly meet his merit. He trusted that no personal rivalry would enter into the matter, as such a feeling would be totally subversive of the objects of the expedition.

Mr. Lindsay felt convinced that Mr. Haug entertained no feeling of the kind.

Mr. Gregson asked whether his grace proposed a

marine survey?—The Duke of Newcastle had consulted Captain Stokes on that point, and they had concluded that it would be better not to hamper the internal expedition with the accompaniment of a marine survey.—Mr. Moffatt said that the great object with which the deputation had sought an interview with his grace was to impress upon him the high opinion they entertained of Mr. Haug's energy and ability. The merchants in the City of London interested in Australian affairs had had many interviews with that gentleman, and were fully impressed with his qualifications for an important share in the proposed expedition. Having said thus much they would leave the matter in his grace's hands.—Mr. McLaren observed that the expedition was looked forward to with deep interest in Australia, the colonists being from their position peculiarly alive to its importance.

The deputation having thanked his grace for the courtesy with which they had been received, then withdrew.

DISCOVERIES IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

Our readers will bear in mind that we have, from time to time, recorded the progress of Dr. Barth in Central Africa.

Mr. Augustus Petermann has just furnished additional information of a most important kind from official despatches:—

"It will be remembered (he says) that Dr. Barth, after a twelvemonth's journey through the Great Desert, under severe hardships and trials, was the first of the three travellers to arrive at Lake Tsaï. Owing to the melancholy death of Mr. Richardson, the leader of the expedition, he found the whole undertaking in a state of complete disorganisation. Yet such was his indomitable energy and courage that he borrowed a sum of money from the Vizier of Bornu, and determined to penetrate to the south alone, in order to reach Adamaua, which country had been reported to him as the most beautiful of Central Africa. On the 29th of May, 1851, accordingly, he left Kuka, and after a fortnight's march through the dominions of Bornu, as well as those of independent Pagan nations, at a distance from Kuka of 155 geographical miles in a straight line, he reached Uba, the northernmost place of Adamaua, situated exactly in the same latitude as the celebrated Mount Mindif, seen by Major Denham, namely, in 10 deg. 20 min. north latitude, and 35 geographical miles west from it.

"From this place," says Dr. Barth, "all the country to the south was covered with the most splendid herbage, and enlivened with numerous herds of cattle belonging to the Fellatas. The atmosphere was now cool and refreshing, the sky covered with clouds during the greater part of the day, and thunderstorms occurred almost every day. The country wore altogether a rich and beautiful appearance; the huts of the inhabitants are built with more solidity than in the northern region of Sudan, as the rainy season lasts seven months in Adamaua. The population of the country is considerable, large towns being met with at every three or four hours, with villages between, exclusively inhabited by the slaves of the ruling Fellatas. The slaves do all the work, and every Fellata, down to the very poorest, possesses at least from two to four slaves. Indeed, in no country of the world, is slavery carried on to such a degree as in Adamaua, where slaves, in addition to cattle, are considered as the foundation of the wealth of the people. The chiefs of the country have countless multitudes of these poor creatures. There are few slaves, however, exported from Adamaua, except those of the Dama tribe, east of Yola, the capital of the kingdom, as they do not find a ready sale in the Sudan market, on account of their great mortality when taken away from their mountainous country. Nevertheless they form, with ivory, the chief articles of commerce. Ivory is extremely cheap in Adamaua, on account of the great number of elephants. In Baya, twelve days' journey south of Yola, the elephants are found in still greater numbers. The chief articles of import are turkiedies, tubes, glass pearls, and salt. Cowries have no value in this country, the current medium of barter consisting of narrow stripes of coarse cotton called gebeggé.

"Saraw, distant fifty-two miles from Uba, is the chief town of the northern part of Adamaua, and is a considerable market place. Previously to reaching Saraw we passed a place called Umbut-fdi, surrounded with beautiful scenery, where the giguma, a peculiar species of palm-tree, appears. The people of this tract had never seen a Christian before my visit, and received me with the utmost kindness and hospitality, taking me altogether for a superior being.

"The most important day, however, in all my African journeys was the 18th of June, when we reached the river Benue, at a point called Taïpe, where it is joined by the river Faro. Since leaving Europe I had not seen so large and imposing a river. The Benue, or 'mother of waters,' which is by far the larger one of the two, is half a mile broad, and 9*f.* feet deep in the channel where we crossed it. On our return, eleven days later, it had risen 1*f.* feet. The Faro is 6-12*f.* of a mile broad, and is 3 feet deep, which had increased to 7*f.* by our return. Both rivers have a very strong current, and run to the west into the Kowara. We crossed the Benue in boats made out of single trees, 25 to 35 feet long and 1 to 1*f.* feet broad, and forded the Faro, which latter was accomplished not without difficulty, on account of the strong current. The Benue is said to rise nine days' journey from Yola in a south-easterly direction; and the Faro, seven days' journey distant, in a rock called Labul. During the rainy season the country is inundated to a great extent by the two rivers, which rise to their highest level towards the end of July, and remain at that level for forty days, namely, till the first days of September, when the water begins to fall. Both rivers are full of crocodiles; and the Benue, I was told, contained gold. After having crossed the rivers with

some difficulty to the camels, we passed at first through some swampy ground, then through a very fine country thickly inhabited, and reached Yola, the capital, on the 22nd of June."

In another communication of Dr. Barth, he states that the river Benue rises during the rainy season to a height of forty to fifty feet.

The next African expedition sent out by Government will proceed by the Chadda and Kowara, or Niger.

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

THE Anti-Knowledge Tax Association commemorated the repeal of the advertisement duty, by giving a *savoiré* to Mr. Milner Gibson at the Whittington Club, on Wednesday, Sir John Shelley in the chair. After partaking of tea the speaking commenced; the plan of operations being for some gentleman to speak to a sentiment. In this way Mr. Samuel Lucas, the able and consistent founder of the agitation for secular public schools, spoke to the fitting sentiment—"the right of free speech—a primary right; and the means of obtaining all others." Mr. Lucas said he wished to see education brought home to every man's door—he would have it laid on like water. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) A poor man with a moderate income could not afford to educate his children, but the moment he went to America or to Canada he could send his children to a free school. Now, he wanted to see the same facilities provided here, and he would not believe in the sincerity of any professed advocate of education unless he would use his influence in Parliament or out of it, according to his position, to obtain them.

Mr. William Hickson proposed "Mr. Thomas Milner Gibson, and his supporters in the House of Commons." Whereupon Mr. Gibson made an appropriate speech in return, showing the great importance of the pressure from without.

Mr. Hickson had said that "some years ago people did not know what was meant by the term 'taxes on knowledge,' and I myself heard of a gentleman some time ago in the House of Commons, who said that he did not know what was meant by the repeal of 'taxes on knowledge'; at that he did know was that it was something that he had to vote for. ('Hear, hear,' and laughter.) And not that I am an advocate for the absence of deliberations of members of Parliament, and a knowledge of the subjects upon which they have to vote, but what I wish to express emphatically to the meeting is this, that nothing can be done in Parliament through our representative system, except there be the cooperation with members of those who have influence without the walls of Parliament." There were many gentlemen in the House of Commons who were very favourable to a cause till they found it was likely to win. Guarantee a minor, and they would vote with you. They were men of good intentions, but timid, and afraid to embarrass the Government. He once brought a motion before the House, and met with some success. It was supported by members on both sides, but his seconder said to him, "You had better not divide." He asked, "Why not?" and the answer was, "Why shall we have a majority?" ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) They proposed, in the present session, to press on the attention of the Government the necessity of following up the repeal of the advertisement duty, by the total abolition of the newspaper stamp. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Gibson proposed, "The memory of Francis Place, Henry Hetherington, and the agitators of 1836," and paid a strong tribute to the character of both those gentlemen, and particularly remarked on Mr. Hetherington's struggles for the establishment of a free press.

Mr. Cobden delivered one of his able speeches, with the arguments of which our readers are familiar, and in which they, no doubt, concur. He proposed this sentiment: "The abolition of the newspaper stamp, and of the remaining restrictions on the press, an indispensable necessity to popular progress in intelligence, morality, and the acquisition of political power."

Some other addresses were delivered, and a vote of thanks passed to the chairman, after which the company dispersed.

HEALTH OF LONDON.

(From the Registrar-General's Return.)

THE number of deaths registered in London, in the week that ended on Saturday, was 1204, and shows a small increase on those of the two previous weeks. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1844-53, the average number was 1091, with a correction for increase of population, becomes 1200. The actual result of last week agrees very closely with the calculated amount.

While diseases of the respiratory organs have declined, those of the zymotic class have increased. Deaths referred to the latter (viz., epidemics), were 263 last week, which is more than the corrected average by 19. Hooping-cough is still fatal, and carried off 78 children; the mortality of croup is unusual, the deaths from it having risen to 17; diarrhoea numbers 31. Only one death from cholera was registered, it occurred on 28th of January, on board the ship *Emma*, off Union-stairs, Wapping. The deceased was a carpenter, aged 65 years, and the cause of death is certified: "diarrhoea (3 days),

cholera (24 hours)." This disease which unhappily has kept its ground in various parts of the island, notwithstanding the sharp frosts of winter, has almost disappeared from London,—however brief the respite may be. In the last week of 1853, 10 deaths from cholera were registered; in 5 weeks of the current year the whole number has been only 6.

Last week the births of 857 boys and 798 girls, in all 1655 children, were registered in London. In the nine corresponding weeks of the years 1845-53 the average number was 1470.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.958 in. The reading of the barometer decreased from 29.98 in. at the beginning of the week to 29.70 in. by 10 h. a.m. on the 29th; increased to 30.09 in. by 9 h. a.m. on the 31st; decreased to 29.82 in. by 8 h. a.m. on the 1st February; increased to 30.23 in. by 9 h. a.m. on the 3rd; and decreased to 29.73 in. by the end of the week. The mean temperature of the week was 43 degs., which is 43 degs. above the average of the same week in 38 years. The excess of mean daily temperature was 5.8 degs. on Sunday, 11.8 degs. on Monday, 11.3 degs. on Tuesday, 7.9 degs. on Wednesday, only 9.4 degs. on Thursday. On the last two days the mean temperature was below the average. The mean dew-point temperature was 39.3 degs. The temperature of the water of the Thames rose to 46 degs. and upwards on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. The wind which blew from south-west on the first four days, afterwards changed to north.

STRIKES.—OPENING OF THE MILLS.

PRESTON was amazed on Wednesday afternoon by the publication of a placard announcing, in the following terms, the opening of the mills on Thursday:

"At a special meeting of the Associated Masters, held at the Bull Hotel, in Preston, on Wednesday, the 8th of February, 1854, it was unanimously resolved, that in consequence of the greatly increased disposition shown by the operatives to resume work since the meeting of the Associated Masters on the 26th of January last, and firmly believing that large numbers have been deterred from openly manifesting a desire to free themselves from their present leaders, and to return to their respective employment, only by fear of ill-treatment, and of the loss of their present means of subsistence; this meeting is of opinion that the time has at length arrived when it is incumbent on the masters, in fulfilment of the pledges repeatedly given by them, to re-open the mills, in the hope of thereby bringing this unfortunate and protracted dispute to an end, and of rescuing the town and neighbourhood from that wide-spread and rapidly increasing distress from which they are now unfortunately suffering."

"Public notice, therefore, is hereby given, that the several mills of the Associated Masters will be re-opened, and will be prepared for a resumption of work to-morrow (Thursday) at eight o'clock in the morning, upon the terms and in accordance with the resolution passed on the 4th of November last; and all persons desirous of obtaining employment may depend upon constant work, and are reminded that the masters are pledged and are fully determined to protect them against any improper interference or molestation."

"By order of the Associated Masters.

"Feb. 8, 1854."

The operatives immediately met. There was a very large attendance. After hearing several addresses, the multitude pledged itself not to resume work without the advance claimed. The meeting concluded, as usual, with three cheers for the 10 per cent.

The measure of the masters, however, has hitherto proved a failure. The mills were opened, the bells rung, but very few hands came to the call. In the afternoon, the largest and most enthusiastic meeting ever held by the operatives resolutely and unanimously resolved not to go to work unless their demands were conceded. The utmost order prevailed.

The shipwrights of the Tyne and Wear struck work on Saturday for an advance of wages from 30s. to 36s. a-week. By ten o'clock in the forenoon the Shields masters had complied with the terms of the men; and it is thought that in a day or two the Wear men will have come to terms with their employers and gone to work again.

LOCAL LEGISLATION.

LORD PALMERSTON's known intention of organising a Sewers Commission upon the principle of local representation, will meet with a ready support. A committee appointed by the Marylebone Vestry to inquire into the subject, with a view to future legislation, recommend that the construction of all sewers should be taken out of the hands of builders, and done by the officers of the commissioners, and that all house-drains should be constructed under their supervision. The committee make the following proposition:—

"Were the city of London and each of the metropolitan boroughs—Greenwich, Finsbury, Lambeth, Marylebone, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, and Westminster—to appoint by election each three metropolitan commissioners of sewers, and these twenty-four commissioners to elect and appoint four adequately remunerated professional commissioners, all

of ten years' standing in their professions—a barrister to act as chairman, a civil engineer, an architect, and a medical officer, being a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, or the Royal College of Surgeons, London; the twenty-eight commissioners would form a board based on popular representation, combined with talent legal, engineering, architectural, and medical, able to meet all possible questions on sewers, sewage, and drainage. One-third of the twenty-four representative commissioners to go out of office annually, but to be eligible for re-election."

THE OPENING OF THE MURRAY.

The following extract from a private letter announces the commencement of a most important commercial enterprise in connexion with this colony—the opening of the navigation of the Murray River. The writer is a squatter in the Liewan district, adjoining Edward's River. Under date October 2, 1853, he says:—"I had the pleasure the other day of starting with the first load of wool ever shipped on the Murray River, at a distance of 1400 miles from the sea mouth. The opening of the navigation of this river will be a great benefit to all us squatters on or near its banks, and will greatly increase the value of our runs, as in a great many instances we shall be able to roll our wool from the wool-shed into the barge. The steamer that has commenced running—the *Lady Augusta*, Captain Cadell—is 100 feet long, and 20 feet beam. She is housed over for passengers, and carries no cargo, but tows a tender of 70 tons' burden, which will convey 500 bales of wool, and they talk of making the trip from this point and back in three weeks. At present their freight is too high, but they hope to reduce it as labour becomes more plentiful. Farming is now a profitable employment. We are beginning to feel the benefit of the gold discovery in the price of our fat stock and wool, and I intend to realise, if I can, while things are high, as I am sure there must be a turn. I have nearly got through my shearing now, but I am very short-handed, and have had a great deal of trouble, chiefly owing to the inconvenience arising from want of labour, which is still as scarce as ever. At this time I am without a house-servant, and have been so for some weeks, nor do I see any immediate prospect of obtaining one."

THE THIEF AND THE OATH.

GEORGE BROOKS was charged at Bow Street with stealing a volume of the *Lancet*, the property of Edward Truelove, bookseller, of the Strand.

A police-constable of the F division having stated that he stopped the young man with the book in his possession, and that the prisoner admitted having stolen it "from distress,"

The prosecutor was called upon to identify the property, and the chief usher was about to administer the oath to him in the usual manner, when he requested permission to make an affirmation instead.

Mr. Jardine inquired upon what grounds?

The Prosecutor: Because I object to take an oath.

Mr. Burnaby, chief clerk: What religion do you profess, then?

Prosecutor: I profess no religion. I claim exemption on conscientious grounds.

Mr. Jardine: I can only exempt you on religious grounds.

Prosecutor: By a recent act of Parliament any man who conscientiously objects to take an oath is permitted to make an affirmation.

Mr. Jardine: There is an act which enables Quakers, Moravians, and some other religious sects, to make affirmations, because they object to the oath on religious grounds. Your objection is based on irregular grounds, and I am not aware of there being any law, recent or otherwise, that recognises such an objection to that.

The prosecutor adhered to his opinion that there had been some recent legislation which placed the conscientious non-believer on the same footing as the conscientious Quaker or Moravian, and consequently some little time was spent by the magistrate and chief clerk in overhauling acts of Parliament, law reports, &c., with a view to enlighten him on the point; after which,

Mr. Jardine again informed the prosecutor that he must be mistaken. According to the law of this country there must be a religious sanction given to the evidence received in courts of justice. The Quaker was exempted, not because he had no religious belief, but because he had religious scruples which the law deemed it right to respect. No such consideration was shown to the non-believer, and, consequently, if he refused to take the oath, his evidence must be rejected. In doing what the law required him to do, he (Mr. Jardine) did not mean to cast any reproach upon the prosecutor, who, no doubt, was at full liberty to enjoy his own opinions in common with other men.

The Prosecutor: Then I am to understand that the abandoned prostitute who was examined on oath just now is entitled to the protection which is refused to me, because I conscientiously object to the solemn appeal which she had no scruple in making?

Mr. Jardine: Yes, certainly. The woman, although a prostitute, may have some religious belief.

Prosecutor: Then I can have no redress, and no protection for my property?

Mr. Jardine: That happens to be so in this case, because you have no one else who can speak as to the identity of the property. It is the legal consequence of the course you have taken.

Prosecutor: Forgive me, Sir, for urging you, as a magistrate, to use your influence to effect an amendment of this most unjust law.

Mr. Jardine: That is not my province, and, if it were so, I could not say that the frequency of such cases rendered an alteration necessary, for during all my experience as a magistrate I do not remember a similar occurrence, with one exception. At all events, the matter is at an end now, and the prisoner is discharged.

A question then arose as to which was entitled to the possession of the property—the prosecutor or the prisoner?

Mr. Jardine said the prisoner must have the book if he claimed it, but probably he would not.

The prisoner was asked if he would consent to give up the book to the prosecutor?

Prisoner: Yes, he may have it.

The prisoner was then discharged.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE records of the Court are of the most ordinary kind—the usual details of a quiet life. We find this significant announcement in the Court Circular of Monday:—

"Mr. J. G. Middleton had the honour of submitting for her Majesty's inspection the portrait he has recently finished of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French."

Everybody will remember the visit to the Chateau d'Eu, and the return visit paid to Queen Victoria by that paternal Ulysses—Louis Philippe! *Tempora mutantur.*

A Cabinet Council sat for four hours and three-quarters on Saturday. All the Ministers were present.

Another Cabinet Council, attended by all the Ministers except the Duke of Argyll, sat for three hours on Wednesday.

It was not until Thursday that the Russian Minister, embarking at Dover, left England for the continent.

Meetings, in favour of reformatory schools for juvenile offenders, have been successfully held at Cardiff and Gloucester.

Colonel Percy Herbert has been elected for Ludlow Conservative; will support the Government on the Eastern question.

The formal election of Sir William Heathcote as member for the University of Oxford took place on Tuesday.

Lord Charles Wellesley is about to retire from the representation of Windsor.

The nomination for South Staffordshire took place on Wednesday. The candidates nominated were Lord Ingestre, Conservative; and Lord Paget, Liberal. The show of hands was in favour of the latter.

The Hon. F. Campbell delivered an unintelligible statement of his opinions to the electors of Cambridge, on Saturday. His mental calibre may be estimated from the fact that he looks upon Mr. Disraeli as the coming man!

Mr. Palk, an anti-tractionist, living near Exeter, has come forward to oppose Sir Stafford Northcote for South Devon.

The inquiries into the elections at Hull and Barnstaple have been published as reports. At Hull in 1841 each party paid between 600 and 700 voters; in 1847 about 1200 were bribed; in 1852, of the 3983 who voted, nearly 1400 were bribed. The constituency consists of 1500 freemen and 3000 occupiers, and the commissioners state that 1100 of the freemen were bribed once at least, and the greater number of them often, in the course of these three elections. At Barnstaple the election in 1847 was a pure one, but corrupt practices extensively prevailed at the election in 1852; 255 of the 696 who polled having been bribed—viz., 121 householders, and 134 freemen. Only five of Lord Ebrington's voters were bribed.

The freedom of the City of London was formally presented to Mr. Layard, the explorer of Nineveh, on Thursday. Mr. Layard announced that he should probably see those dear scenes on the Tigris and Euphrates no more, for he had now entered on public life.

Dr. Newman has arrived in Dublin to organise the New Roman Catholic University.

The family of the late Lieutenant Bellot have just given to the mayor of Rochefort, as a striking proof of their gratitude, the Cross of the Legion of Honour, which Lieutenant Bellot had with him on board the *Phénix*, at the time of his last and disastrous expedition to the Arctic Seas.

Herr Sommers' monster concert, in the Great Exhibition building, on Monday evening, was a complete triumph, both as regarded the attendance and the musical arrangements. The numbers present, it is estimated, ranged between 14,000 and 15,000 persons, and comprised all grades and classes of Dublin society. The concert was honoured by the presence of the Lord-Lieutenant and the Countess of St. Germans.

The *Caledonian Mercury* says, the Duke of Hamilton, with the assistance of the law, has compelled the Roman Catholic church at Hamilton to restore to him certain precious pieces of plate (family heir-looms) presented to the said church by the duchess.—*North British Mail.*

The statue of Jefferson, third President of the United States, was cast on the 25th ult., at the royal foundry at Munich. It is thirteen feet high, and has taken ten tons of metal. This is one of the five statues which will surround the equestrian one of Washington, erected at Richmond, in Virginia, and which is twenty-two feet in height. The model of the statue of Jefferson is by the American sculptor, Hiram Powers. Mr. Powers resides at Florence, and was present at the casting of his work.

It is now necessary that travellers to France should be provided with passports, verified by the agents of France in England.

Declarations have been exchanged between Cardinal Antonelli and Mr. Scarlett, establishing reciprocal freedom of trade between Great Britain and the Papal States.

According to a statement made by Sir James Graham, Government have adopted the plan of Lieutenant Maury. An officer will be appointed to receive observations at sea made by Queen's ships and merchant ships. All the former are directed to make observations; and a select few—a hundred—of the latter. The results will be communicated to Lieutenant Maury.

The Town Council of the city of Bath unanimously resolved on Tuesday to petition Parliament against the measure which, it is said, the Government intends bringing into Parliament for centralising the police of the entire country; and a committee was appointed to watch over the interests of the city in respect to it.

A special committee of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce reported in favour of a law of limited liability in partnerships. It was embodied in the report presented at the annual meeting. Objections were raised, however, and a compromise effected. The opinion of the special committee, with their reasons, was allowed to stand; but the words—"without expressing an opinion on this important question"—were inserted.

During the sitting of the Government commission, held at Newcastle-on-Tyne to inquire into the causes of the fearful ravages of cholera in that town, Mr. J. B. Hume, the chief commissioner, from evidence that had been laid down before him, made a calculation that the epidemic had cost the town £8000 for medicine and burials alone, and would cost it £50,000 for eight years to support the widows and destitute—nearly 30,000! In addition to this sum, he said, some thousands of pounds had been collected and distributed by the Vicar. There are also 200 benefit societies in the town, and taking the average loss at £500 each, made 10,000.

The half-yearly meeting of the members of the Whittington Club was held at the club-house, Arundel-street, Strand, on Monday evening last. Mr. Mechi, a staunch friend of the institution, occupied the chair. The chairman congratulated the members upon the club's greatly improved condition and prospects since the previous half-yearly meeting. The report of the committee was of an unusually favourable character, and the balance-sheet, the main test of prosperity, showed a small balance on the right side. After the reception of the report the election of officers took place, Mr. Mechi being elected president for the ensuing year.

When the American frigate *Constitution* was at Naples, their Majesties, with all the court gorgeously dressed, came on board to see the ship. While they were being escorted by Commodore Rogers round the ship, a boatswain's mate stepped up to the first lieutenant, and, touching his hat, whispered—"Please, sir, one of them kings has fallen down the main-hatchway." (1)

A horse-thief being tried in Arkansas, the prosecuting counsel (a Harvard University man) poured forth such a cataract of classical citations that judge and jury were completely overwhelmed. Perceiving that no chance remained for his client unless their ideas were changed, the defendant's attorney (genuine Arkansan) opened his defence with disclaiming any attempt to rival the "lair of the gentleman opposite," who (said he) has "quoted ancient creation against us." He has roamed with old Romulus—he has soothed with old Socrates—he rapped with old Euripides, and canted with old *Cathartides*! (The thief got off.)

An American dealer in ready-made linen advertises his shirts—and chemistries—under the delicate appellation of "male and female envelops."

The great "W. B." case, or the prosecution of Major Beresford, Morgan, the Coxes, and others, for conspiracy to bribe and corrupt the electors of Derby, has been withdrawn; and, to the astonishment of everybody, a verdict of "not guilty" accorded. There was no compromise!

Mr. Goalen, principal of the audit department of the London and North-Western Railway, is in custody on the charge of defrauding the company to the tune of £5000. He was one of their oldest officers, and abused his confidential position.

An attempt appears to have been made, on Monday night, to break into Windsor Castle! Colonel Hood, Clerk Marshal to Prince Albert, was returning late to the castle. He took a private way by the slopes; and was not a little surprised to encounter in his walk seven or eight men, with their faces blackened, and their feet muffled, if he might judge by the noiseless character of their movements. The ruffians fled at the approach of the hon. and gallant gentleman, and have not since been heard of. On inquiry, it appeared that the suspected burglars were observed by the sentinel on duty at the corner of the Prince of Wales' Tower (on the basement of which is the gold pantry), and that the man-at-arms, looking down from the terrace, threatened to fire upon them. To this they replied that if he attempted to fire, or give the alarm, they would blow out his brains. The hostile parley had proceeded thus far when Colonel Hood entered by the Lodge-gate in Datchet-lane, and the burglars doubtless supposed that he was at the head of a party sent to capture them. This will account for their precipitate flight and subsequent escape.

The skeleton of a woman was found near Bantry last week, the bones of the limbs and body bare of flesh. Dogs had torn and devoured it!

A fire of no great extent, but involving the loss of seven lives, occurred on Tuesday in Princes-street, Soho. The fire

originated in the second floor, and was discovered by a policeman. Before the engines could arrive a man named Puzzi, his wife and children, appeared at the upper windows. Puzzi leaped out. The engines soon extinguished the flames, but on examination the firemen found the wife of Puzzi and three children, and a man and two women, lying in a heap burnt up!

On Saturday morning the Oakbank spinning factory, near Glasgow, was burnt to the ground, nothing being saved, with the exception of a couple of stories at one of the ends. Three hundred workers will be thrown idle by the disaster.—*Edinburgh Advertiser.*

On Friday last, nearly three hundred Mormons met in Newport, from various districts on the hills, with the view of starting together for the Great Salt Lake.

It is said that when Talleyrand was informed, during the conferences at Tilsit in 1807, that Russia had at last consented to evacuate the Danubian provinces of Turkey, he exclaimed, "Enfin l'Empereur des principautés, redéfient Empereur de Russie. C'est gagner là où il croit perdre!"

One of the largest diamonds known was deposited on Tuesday at the Bank of England by a London house, to whom it was consigned from Rio Janeiro. Its weight is 254 carats, and its estimated value, according to the scale, £80,000. It is said to be of the finest water, and without a flaw, and was found by a negro slave, who received his freedom as a reward.

Tessellated pavements have been discovered under the foundations of the building in Old Broad-street, formerly the residence of Sir Thomas Gresham, and recently the Excise Office

The indefatigable proprietors of the "Gallery of Illustration" have, with their usual vigilance in bringing before the public eye whatever topic fills the public ear, added to their excellent exhibition a view of the redoubtable Russian port and arsenal of Sebastopol. We have no authority to state that Messrs. Grieve and Telbin's views are from the deck of her Majesty's ship *Retribution*; but we believe we may vouch for their accuracy. John Bull, who talks of "taking Sebastopol," should see this drama. It may, perhaps, satisfy him of the unfortunate truth that Sebastopol is not to be taken by ships sailing through a creek of four miles against a strong current, between a cross-fire of the heaviest guns. Admiral Dundas is reported to have said, some time ago, that he would take Sebastopol "with the loss of two ships." Perhaps he has revised this opinion. Sebastopol can only be taken in reverse by a powerful army, supported by a powerful fleet.

Last Wednesday's Concert, at Exeter Hall, was for the benefit of the Musical Director, and the result was a crowded hall. Miss Louisa Pyne was the star of the evening. Mr. Sims Reeves is announced to sing at the next concert.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, February 11th.
BOTH Houses transacted important business last night; and in the Lords there was a ludicrous unsatisfactory talk on the Eastern Question. Nothing could be more precise than the interpellations, nothing more vague and unsubstantial than the Ministerial replies. The conversation arose upon a question put by Earl FITZWILLIAM, who asked whether the Government were in possession of any information respecting the mission of Count Orloff to Vienna.

The Earl of CLARENDON said he believed Count Orloff was not the bearer of any counter-project or counter-terms to those previously proposed by Austria:—

"His mission he believed, was to state, first, that it was indispensable that a Turkish plenipotentiary should proceed either to St. Petersburg, or the headquarters of the Russian army to negotiate for peace; secondly, that if he came to St. Petersburg, the representatives of the four Powers might have power to treat with him, but that there should be no formal conference; thirdly, that a protocol should be drawn up, containing agreements with the Sultan, with regard to the privileges and immunities of the Greek Church, and the evacuation of the Principalities; fourthly, that arrangements should be made with regard to what were called agitators and revolutionists. Count Bud thinking these terms at variance with those adopted by the conference at Vienna, answered that they were unacceptable and could not be received. As to the other objects of Count Orloff, he (Lord Clarendon) was not sufficiently informed to make any statement, nor had he any papers to produce, but he would say that he believed that the mission of Count Orloff had reference only to the relations between Russia and Austria, and that in the answer given to him the independence of Austria had been asserted."

In answer to the Earl of ELLENBOROUGH, the Earl of CLARENDON stated that Sweden and Denmark had given assurances of perfect neutrality in any war that might ensue, and had sent a list of ports into which they would not admit the ships of war of belligerents, which had been approved of by this country.

Later in the evening the Marquis of CLANRICARDE asked if Lord Aberdeen knew of any negotiations for peace that were still going on.

The Earl of ABERDEEN denied that we were ac-

tually at war yet, and as long as that was the case he would have hopes of peace, and on being pressed again as to whether negotiations for peace were going on, said the negotiations at Vienna were brought to a close, and he was not aware of any others going on at present.

Lord BEAUMONT declared that the honour of the country was involved in things not remaining as they are.

Earl GRANVILLE complained of the irregularity of putting questions like these without notice, and explained that all Lord Aberdeen meant was, that so long as actual warfare had not commenced there was hope of peace, and that hope was founded on the cordial combination of the powers of Europe, which might have an effect on the course taken by the Emperor of Russia.

Then came a talk about the Reform Bill. Earl GREY inquired whether the Reform Bill could be proceeded with before the army and navy estimates were brought on, and deprecated any measure which would delay them.

The Earl of ABERDEEN said the Reform Bill would be brought forward on Monday, and that it would not interfere with the army and navy estimates; for although it would be introduced, it would not be proceeded with before those estimates. The noble earl seemed to think that we are actually at war, which was not only not the case, but he denied that it was inevitable; and although preparations for war would go on, he would not yet, "please God," abandon hopes of peace.

The Earl of DERBY regretted the determination of the Government to go on with the Reform Bill, which, although it might not interfere with military preparations, would stir up party strife at a moment when unanimity in Parliament was so desirable, and it was a measure which might, if it dissatisfied Parliament, lead to the resignation of Ministers, or a dissolution of Parliament; and if it was successful, the House of Commons, when reformed by it, could not continue to exist as it now was, and then there must be a dissolution, which would be of serious injury at such a crisis.

In the House of Commons some sparring about the propriety of bringing in the Reform Bill at this crisis preceded Lord JOHN RUSSELL's speech on bribery. He having repeated that he intended to bring on the Reform Bill on Monday next, Mr. DISRAELI announced, that if the measure tended further to diminish the influence of the landed interest, it would meet with the most strenuous opposition; although they had no wish to embarrass the Government in any measures they might take with regard to the impending war.

Mr. BRIGHT approved of going on with the bill, and promised his hearty support to any measure for improving the representation of the people.

Lord J. MANNERS objected to proceeding with any measure likely to interfere with the preparations for war.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL then brought forward two bills for the better prevention of bribery, treating, and undue influence at elections for Members of Parliament, and for the trial of controverted elections.

He stated that the earlier clauses of the first bill defined the offences it was intended to prevent, and provided that any person threatening violence or restraint, or in any way practising intimidation, to induce persons to vote, or to abstain from voting, should be deemed guilty of the offence of intimidation, and be liable to a penalty of £50. It provided that persons guilty of bribery should be for ever after incapable of sitting in Parliament; and persons guilty of treating or intimidation, should be incapable of sitting in Parliament for the same place in the same Parliament. Copies of all convictions for bribery and treating should be forwarded to the Speaker, and entered in a book of Parliamentary disqualification. Voters who had received bribes were to have their names erased from the register of qualified voters, but to be yearly published in a list of disqualified voters.

The second bill provided, that when a petition was presented complaining of bribery, treating, or intimidation at an election, there should be a preliminary committee of fifteen members—something like a grand jury, to consider the evidence in support of the petition, and if they thought a *prima facie* case was made out, then the petition would be referred to a select committee. If the committee reported that the petition was well founded, the expenses would be borne by the public purse, but if not, the petitioners would have to pay the costs. If the sitting member was unseated, and the unsuccessful candidate was shown to have obtained two-thirds as many votes as the successful candidate had polled, the committee should have the power of declaring him duly elected. If the committee were of opinion, and reported that bribery had extensively prevailed, the Speaker, without the necessity of an address being moved, should report the matter to the Home Secretary, and the Crown should be empowered to issue a commission, and to name the commissioners, whom it would be as well to choose from the Reviving Barristers. In order to secure uniform decisions by election committees, it was provided that there should be ten assessors appointed, being barristers of ten years' standing, one of whom should act with every election committee. The Chairman's panel was to be abolished, leaving the general committee on election petitions, who should choose the members of the committee.

A conversational debate ensued, the effect of which was, on the whole, favourable to the measure; the

principal objection being to the power given to committees to seat an unsuccessful candidate who had obtained two-thirds of the number of votes, as the successful candidate, when the latter was unseated on petition; and it was much urged that the best protection for the voter against intimidation and all other influences was the ballot.

Among the miscellaneous subjects touched upon were the following:—

Lord JOHN RUSSELL stated that the fleets had returned to Beicos Bay in consequence of the admirals thinking that their remaining at Sinope would tend to disable the fleet; but that steamers could be sent to command the Black Sea.

Mr. J. WILSON intimated that arrangements were in progress to establish a uniform sixpenny colonial postage.

In answer to Mr. RORBUCK, Lord J. RUSSELL explained that the American Minister when he received a card for the opening of Parliament, on which the words "full dress" were written, had not inquired whether he could appear in plain dress, but strolled away altogether.

Mr. M. BAINES obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the laws relating to the settlement, removal, and chargeability of the poor in England and Wales. He proposed that the power of compulsory removal on the ground of settlement should be taken away, and that unions should be made the area of chargeability; while, in order to equalise the rating, he proposed a graduated scale, which would have the effect of making the assessment uniform in the course of ten years.

A desultory discussion followed, in which some of the details of the bill were canvassed; but the general opinion of the House was most favourable to the principle of the bill, and the speech of the Right Hon. Member was much cheered. This closed the business of importance, and the House adjourned.

The French ocean squadron sailed from Brest at eight A.M. on the 6th inst. It is composed at present of the *Montebello*, *Duguay-Trouin*, *Austerlitz*, *Hercule*, and *Jean Bart*, ships-of-the-line; the *Pomone* and *Caffarelli* steam-frigates, and the *Roland* steam-sloop.

The following telegraphic despatches reached London from Vienna in the course of yesterday. We give them for what they are worth, without for a moment guaranteeing their authenticity. We may caution our readers, that whatever comes through Vienna bears the Russian stamp:—

BUCHAREST, Jan. 31.—Prince Stourza has gone to Constantinople. He has offered 200,000 ducats, and has been made a Pacha by the Porte. General Liprandi has superseded General Arepp in Lesser Wallachia. Prince Gortschakoff has declined the services volunteered by Prince Milosh.

WIDDIN, Feb. 3.—Omer Pacha is suffering from typhus fever.

CONSTANTINOPOLE, Jan. 30.—General Klapka and others have become Mahomedans. English influence at Teheran is increasing.

The latest advices from Odessa, of the 23rd ult., state that the engineers conveyed to Sinope by the combined fleets are drawing up plans for the fortification of that port. The son of the Imperial Russian Chancellor of State (Count Nesselrode), an adjutant of Prince Menschikoff, has arrived here (Odessa). Works for strengthening the fortifications of Sebastopol are in course of execution. Osman Pasha, who was made prisoner at Sinope, is out of danger.

The first portion of the military force to be despatched to the East will consist of four battalions of the Foot Guards and six regiments of Infantry from Ireland. These troops will embark with the least possible delay for their destination, which will probably be Malta in the first instance.—*Globe*.

Lord Aberdeen's hopes of peace, which appeared to the House of Lord's "too like despair for prudence to smother," are partially sustained by the latest advices from Vienna, which go so far as to hold out hopes to the patriots of the Stock Exchange, that the rejection of all terms by the Czar is not final; that the German Powers offer mediation, and propose that *Deus ex machina*, King Leopold, as the arbitrator. Those who know the personal character of the Czar affirm most positively that he may be reduced to reason, but that he will never recede from the position he has once asserted; while others, looking rather to the traditional character of Russian diplomacy, than to the personal character of the arbiter of European peace, profess to believe that Russia will be content to leave Turkey to her allies, reserving Moldo-Wallachia to herself. But will the Western Powers be content with the *status quo ante* after the disasters occasioned to Turkey by twelve months of a life and death struggle?

We have authority to state, that the Crystal Palace will be opened next May. The 24th of May, her Majesty's birthday, has been named for the solemnity. The greatest exertions are being made to accomplish this earnest wish of the Directors.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.
We have to request correspondents not to send us letters in duplicate. The difficulty of finding space for letters exceeding the briefest limits is increased during the Parliamentary

session. We have, therefore, to impress upon our correspondents the necessity of compression. In many cases where we should be glad to print the letters entire, we are compelled to present our readers with an abstract only. We have received two letters on the subject of our recent article on the Prince Consort. The one, a writer who will not be offended if we describe him as a "Radical," considers it quite incomprehensible that a liberal journal should disseminate such "opinions," and treats Prince Albert as a German Power; the other, Mr. Oliver Bradshaw, descendant of the regicide, who professes himself a "Republican in sentiment," having "no faith in Princes as a class," "he heartily concurs in most respects in the views of 'Non-Elector' respecting the Prince Albert Question." We trust we may be permitted to set the concurrence of the "Republican" against the surprise of the "Radical" correspondent.

A fortnight since, in noticing the meeting of the Manchester School, at the Albion Hotel in that town, we said, "the Great Manchester party resolved to ask for an increase of members for Lancashire—fifty at least." "A Constant Reader" disputes our interpretation of the passage in Mr. George Wilson's speech, from which we derived this statement. We beg to refer him to the text of that speech. The same correspondent informs us that the Free Trade Hall is *not* undergoing repairs.

E. A. Deans.—Declined with thanks.

ERRATA.—In the notice of the Co-operative Flour Mills, at Leeds, the last year's profits should have been stated as £2477, not £2247. Without this correction the figures would not show accuracy.

In No. III. of "the German Powers," page 113, third column, line 30 from top of the page, for "never be dislodged," read "now be dislodged"; line 50, for "salle," read "bullets"; line 74, for "South," read "Sund"; line 96, for "Russia," read "Prussian."

In the report of a speech at the conference at the Society of Arts, last week, "Mr. Rowen" should have been "Mr. R. Owen."

The Leader.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1854.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD

THE WAR OF PRINCIPLES.

If not positively at war with Russia by the dawn of this day, we have approached the very last stage before the war. Peaceful relations have ended; the Russian ambassadors in London and Paris have withdrawn; and instructions have been sent to the French and English ambassadors at St. Petersburg to do likewise. While Ministers still hesitate to declare that on no consideration would they refuse to listen if Russia again offered peace, it is Russia, and not England or France, who keeps up the fallacious semblance of negotiation; and the French and English Governments do not dissemble their conviction that peace will not be restored until the close of a great war. And a great war unquestionably it will be.

We who have so ardently desired the time when the organised hypocrisy of a delusive peace on the continent should be broken up, and when England, roused from her lethargy, should be again called upon to raise the national standard and take her side, have no desire to dissemble either the momentous character of the war or the embarrassments which attend both English statesmen and foreign patriots. The latter have deep interests at stake in the opportunity which appears to offer itself for rescuing people too long prostrate under tyrannical and alien rule. But it is in the hour of storm and darkness, of confusion and doubt, that the one unerring guide is found valuable. It must be confessed that the principle which should govern states, whether in peace or in conflict, has not yet been discovered; the truth—that is all truth, and the final net result thereof—will perhaps never be attained by any test which human wisdom can devise. But in order to control the shifting and wandering steps which states may take in their march through the perplexing field of time, with its trackless future, it is essential to their dignity and safety that they should possess a principle. Finally right it may not be; but they must not throw away their compass until they get a better. We do not know that any state is competent to possess a better principle to guide it in its relation with others than that which guides its own steps. England, at all events, has hers.

For centuries, ever since England became England, and was known by that name—she has been guided by one principle. It is expressed in different forms, but has been repeatedly recorded on

that Statute Book which embodies her rights and her rules of conduct for herself and her children. In Magna Charta, in the Petition of Right, in the Bill of Rights, in the Reform Bill, and in many minor auxiliary statutes, England has recorded the principle of her political being, which is that of self-government by the people, through its representation in Parliament, according to the laws agreed upon by successive generations and by all classes thus represented. The principle of English political existence and action is representative self-government, securing freedom for all classes within established law. That is the principle which has guided England herself; and in her intercourse with foreign countries she cannot discover—for she has not done so—a better principle as the standard of constitutional freedom. It is because she has lowered her national flag under the standard of despotism, in the period governed by the counsels of 1815, that she has lost her lead in Europe, and is now obliged to recover it by main force, sword in hand.

The battle will be one of great scale, with immense force arrayed against her, and with consequences which neither side can foresee. Neither England nor Russia, the two most opposed adversaries in the contest, can sit down beforehand and calculate the results which either side shall win for itself; or will lose, what shall be the loss inflicted upon states that stand between the two, and over whose heads the storm must rage; or what healthy blessings may follow after the passage of the red thunder cloud. But into this doubtful contest England enters with juster hopes than Russia, since she undertakes her action not for selfish purposes, which merit, as doubtless they will incur, the abhorrence of mankind—not for her own privileges and aggrandisement—but for the right, as in her conscience she believes it, and for the welfare of others even more than her own. Thus strengthened, England can truly count that the beneficial results of the war, for the furtherance of her just influence and for the good of mankind, will depend upon her own energy and her own resolute determination to extort from contest all the blessings which it can yield.

We are far from being appalled by the force arrayed against our country; for we believe that nothing can be more salutary for this country than to have its national virtue once more tried by the harshest of dangers and troubles, and that in proportion to the greatness of the danger will be the opportunity which she can command. We set aside for the moment any question about the Austrian alliance, with this single remark, that in proportion as England exhibits her strength so as to be a terror to her enemies, she will become a shelter to her allies; and exactly in proportion as she does so, must the rulers of Austria perceive the policy of being on the side of England, rather than against her. But even if Russia were not enough as an adversary, it is only too probable that Russia will have allies. In the exceptional condition of that state, some of its weaknesses are resources in the hands of an unscrupulous ruler. If her people are ignorant, servile, politically naught, they can be more completely be used; and there is the less reason why, in a desperate struggle, a chief should scruple to use them. Contending for existence as he is, the Czar may pour his armies upon the civilised world, and may reck little whether he spends those armies to their total loss; for what are Russians to the Emperor? He can lavish them by tens and hundreds of thousands; he does it, and has been doing it for years; and it is we, his enemies, who feel compassion for the miserable wretches thus squandered on unjust or hopeless enterprises. If he is rich in armies and munitions of war, he is not less rich in unscrupulousness; there is reason to suppose that he has so extended the net of his agencies as to have the material for unscrupulous strategy in every country of the world.

As to his allies, their name is legion; for the allies of Russia are everything that is base, unscrupulous, and anti-national. Drive him to the contest, and he will not, for an instant, hesitate to use against the civilised world every resource of barbarism which civilisation has permitted to lurk within its bosom. We have heard it said with hope, that if Austria should remain true to the alliance of the four Powers, it will be good for the nations, because Russia, rendered desperate, will rouse the Revolution throughout the continent. It is possible that she may attempt it. The Revolution has in many countries—we believe we may except Italy—been disgraced by a degraded few, whose very object has been, not freedom, but

envious distraction, blood, and vice for their own sakes; and it is possible that Russia may find, too many an European country, this filthy red-handed bastards of the Revolution to be her allies; and, for all her professions of principles, she will use them as willingly as she would the thieves of London, if she were not prevented by her impotence, to touch the heart of England.

Now, in the perplexities of the approaching storm, we can imagine honest enthusiasts, of fevered brain and unsteady heart, who might for a moment be deluded by the prospect of a great alliance, and might feel a bound of exultation in hopes for the Revolution, at the thought that Russia would constitute herself the Grand Incendiary. There may be such Macbriars of the Revolution; but we cannot believe that the clear-headed, firm-hearted men, who have for so many years, in oppression and in prison, looked with unquailing eye into the far future, can be distracted by this passion, or be betrayed by illicit desires to prostitute the revolution to the purposes of the great Anti-Revolutionist. The temptation would be great for any members of the great Slavonian family; but, at all events, the genuine European nations will have a higher standard of political morals, and will view the future history by something more than the transitory opportunity of the moment.

It is not therefore needed that the nations should forego their opportunity. But they must take it from the honest hand of Progress, and not filch it in complicity with the great robber of Reaction. Let us see how Europe will stand, should Austria remain firm to the alliance, and not offer to the Revolution the opportunity of her antagonism to England. In that case, England will not permit herself to join in direct attacks for relieving an oppressed empire from the tottering throne of Austria; but does it follow that the nations will then have no voice, no power? On the contrary, questions will assuredly arise, in the course of the opportunity that Russia forces upon Europe, by which Austria must be called to account. Have we not seen on such occasions, even more transitory than the one now approaching, promises to be, that constitutional ideas arose within Vienna itself, and recalled the days when a Prince of the House of Austria attempted to bestow upon the empire those genuine reforms, political, economical, and ecclesiastical, which he had secured so well for Tuscany that they survived generations of imbecility amidst surrounding despots? Should such questions arise, is it possible that England could forswear her own standard, or could abstain from holding out to Austria the example of the strength which she derives from domestic freedom?

There is also another example at Austria's own threshold. In the storm about to burst upon Europe there is no state which enters upon it fearless of any domestic weakness, confident in a strength which readers victory the certain correlative of her own exertions, excepting our own. Here every class is free to come forward, and to declare to Government, with the undoubted sincerity of an independent voice, that the flag of England is sustained by the people of England. But if there is any state, which, starting with the weakness of small dimensions and recent nationality, can survey the rough opportunity with hope rather than fear, that state is the kingdom of Sardinia; whose people have recently been set free to share the dangers of their own throne, and who now stand forward in support of that throne as one man. We have no expectation that even this example would work conviction upon Austria, unsustained. Now, although her Western allies can defend her against Russia, they will not, for assuredly they cannot, defend her against necessity. Russia has been the backbone of despotism: break that backbone, and in the latter half of this century despotism is a cripple. It is a correlative necessity that constitutional freedom must be in the ascendant. In such a time England must exercise the lead over the states that give their adherence, not to Russian Incendiaryism, but to constitutional freedom; under whose flag the nations will learn to identify their cause and their hopes with the honour and safety of England.

THE PRESTON "LOCK-OUT" AT AN END. The events of the past week have put an entirely new aspect upon the Lancashire Labour-battle: the "Lock-out" is at an end. While we write every mill in Preston is at work; the engines are

speeded, the machinery is prepared, and nothing is wanted save a full complement of industrious operatives to restore the wonted activity of the town.

Last Wednesday the Associated Masters gave public notice:—

"That, in consequence of the greatly increased disposition shown by the operatives to resume work, since the meeting of Associated Masters, on the 26th of January last, and firmly believing that large numbers have been deterred from openly manifesting a desire to free themselves from their present leaders, and to return to their respective employments, only by fear of ill-treatment, and of the loss of their present means of subsistence, this meeting is of opinion that the time has at length arrived when it is incumbent on the masters, in fulfilment of the pledges repeatedly given by them, to RE-OPEN THEIR MILLS, in the hope of thereby bringing this unfortunate and protracted dispute to an end, and of rescuing the town and neighbourhood from that widespread and rapidly-increasing distress from which they are now unhappily suffering. PUBLIC NOTICE is therefore given, that the several mills of the Associated Masters will be reopened, and will be prepared for the resumption of work tomorrow (Thursday), at eight o'clock in the morning, upon the terms of, and in accordance with, the resolution passed on the 4th of November last; and all persons desirous of obtaining employment may depend upon CONSTANT WORK, and are reminded that the masters are pledged, and are fully determined, to protect them against any improper interference or molestation."

When a sensible thing is done, we are not disposed to be very critical about the reasons *alleged* for doing it, and we, therefore, pass over the allegation of a "greatly increased disposition to resume work;" suffice it to record our hearty approval of the course adopted by the employers. It was evidently the only solution of the difficulty in which both parties were placed. So long as they kept themselves within the closely serried phalanx of their combination, the Associated Masters prevented any concession being made to them, and only imitated those faulty tactics of the operatives which organised them into an indissoluble body, impervious alike against conviction and concession. At the outset of the dispute, the masters would have nothing but an unconditional surrender at discretion, and an abandonment of the union. Later on, they conceded the union, but referred to the prices of last March as the only terms upon which they could open their mills. Still later, they offered to receive *applications* for work; but as they did not guarantee any certainty of work, and as the Operatives' committees *did* guarantee that "knobsticks" should be expelled the Union, the experiment was never attended by any conspicuous success. Now they open their mills and guarantee all comers protection from molestation, and the certainty of a livelihood. Each step has been in advance of its predecessor, and the last entitles us to announce that the Preston employers are at length recovering from their severe attack of commercial insanity.

It is understood that, in thus re-opening the mills, the Preston masters are supported by all the employers in the Cotton District. The Defence Fund, organised in Manchester, by a levy upon the amount of wages paid, still continues to be a reality, and the expenses of the experiment,—coaling, interest, salaries, disbursements, &c., will be defrayed by the Combination. It is understood that the mills will be kept running for three months certain, whatever may be the result of the experiment.

As might have been expected, the operatives are sadly puzzled to know what to make of the movement. Their leaders tell them that it is indicative of giving way on the part of the masters; but common sense must tell them the reverse of this, by pointing out that such an expensive experiment must be the result of strength and not of weakness. The Committee of Weavers, in default of arguments, has recourse to a rhapsody, and puts forward an extravagant production, from which the following passages are selected:—

"Fellow Operatives.—We address you at this critical moment, because, from the Watch-Towers of our citadel, we perceive the machinations of our opponents, unable to conquer you upon their own chosen field, they are about to attempt to lure you upon the rocks and quicksands which surround you. You have, ever since the commencement of this struggle, proved yourselves ever ready to adopt any plan by whomsoever proposed, that was calculated to lead to an honourable arrangement. Our employers have refused to adopt any plan that was proposed, and have refused to make any proposal or suggestion that would give you an opportunity of making a satisfactory settlement. . . .

"In looking at the past, we find that the name and character of Prestonsians had become a by-word amongst the nations of the earth for imbecility and cowardice; your noble conduct during this unhappy struggle has torn the brand from your forehead, and elevated you in the esteem of the civilised world. Your peaceful and orderly conduct, your admirable fortitude, and your united action, has caused

your name to be respected, and your proceedings to be watched with interest by every friend of progress and humanity.

"Your employers, thrown into confusion and dismay by your noble behaviour, have no other hope left than either to come to an honourable arrangement, or to call to their aid some wonderful influence more powerful than starvation, to you to agree, to accept, their unjust and unnecessary reduction of ten per cent. . . .

"Operatives, we have called your attention to this, not that we would doubt your integrity, for after eighteen weeks of an arduous struggle, we know that you are not to be done by trickery, when a few more days of perseverance will achieve that which we have so long fought for, but because in a few days, or perhaps before this meets your eye, the curtain will have risen upon the last scene of delusion in this unfortunate drama, and all the intrigue and disappointment will have met the world's view. You know that your cause is the cause of labour throughout the world,—that a reduction in your wages will be followed by a similar reduction throughout the manufacturing districts, and we know your fixed and determined resolution not to disgrace the cause of labour. You have hitherto been treated as inanimate machines, henceforth you are determined to be treated as Christians and human beings; having the self-same necessities, hopes, fears, duties, and rights, as your employers. Women of Preston, your conduct hitherto has been worthy of all commendation; the most severe critics failed to injure your reputation; you have been firm, devoted, and enthusiastic in the glorious cause you have been engaged in; we know that they will be disappointed who anticipate you are prepared to become renegades to humanity. Be firm, be united, be true. Remember that Union is strength, and a glorious settlement awaits you."

"Men and Women of Preston, with a confidence in your honesty and discretion, we await with calmness the result of this attempt to lure you from the path of duty. Let your motto be, 'United we stand, divided we fall.' If our Employers tell us collectively that they will reduce our wages, we have no alternative but to answer collectively, that we will not work at the proposed reduction."

Besides this, the committees have been very active in keeping the general body of the operatives from acting independently. Meetings of all the unionists were called throughout Thursday, mill by mill, and the muster-roll called over, for the purpose of immediately detecting the "knobsticks." In spite of this formidable intimidatory force, nearly 200 persons applied for and received work, and it was expected yesterday that the number would be considerably augmented. Meantime the town is kept in a fever of excitement.

If the masters persevere in these tactics, and it cannot be doubted that they will, they must inevitably break through the power of the agitators. Hitherto the strength of these leaders has been in starvation, but now the masters offer to outbid them. Ten shillings is better than four, even if the privilege of idleness be attached to the lesser sum, and long and severe privations have disposed many to resume work at almost any terms. Nor will the cause of high wages be damaged by accepting immediately the terms offered by the masters. The rates paid by the different masters are not all alike; some pay better than others, even according to the statements of the operatives. Let them select, then, those masters who pay the best, and fill *their* mills first; the others will have to raise their terms in order to get hands to their looms. There will be a scarcity of labour in Preston, owing to the emigration of those who have had no relief from the committees, and the masters first served will advance in their turn to keep the hands they get. Thus, by the ordinary process of those laws which ever have governed and ever will govern the price of wages, in spite of the most violent and obstinate interference, will the rate of Preston wages become just and equitable, and that without the achievement of a perilous and pernicious victory to either side.

BEWARE OF THE RUSSIAN TRADE.

SOME days since the Paris *Presse* repeated, after our own *Economist*, advice to merchants having dealings with Russia, that henceforward they should stipulate for payments to be made to them in the money of their own country. The advice is sound, but it may be somewhat extended. Indeed, we can scarcely suppose it possible that, under existing circumstances, traders should overlook, in regard to Russia, a practice which has been observed in regard to other countries. How often it has happened that payments due, say in Leghorn, have been stipulated to be made in the current coin of England; meaning, not that the debtor should actually provide so many sovereigns, but that he should find the equivalent of a fixed English sum, without abatements or disengagements by the shifting coins that circulate around the Mediterranean. But if Levantine dodges may be practised in the South, how much more evident is it,

that the dishonesty, if not the fact of bankruptcy, reigns in St. Petersburg.

Recent events appear to have cancelled the good resolves in money matters which Russia has for some years enforced. We have already mentioned the issue of 60,000,000 paper roubles, to supply the expenses of the war. The expenses of war have been provided in different times and different countries by different ways. In our own country, formerly, kind of royal circular used to be sent round to the feudal lords to find men fully equipped, while the people were asked for "benevolences." More recently any sudden demand of this kind has been met by a loan,—a plan under which William Pitt outraged the Hume that he did not foresee by the most lavish devices to attract lenders. Amongst others, the Minister would acknowledge that the State had contracted a debt of a hundred pounds, if the lender would pay him something over sixty; and, in the maintenance of the national faith, we are, to this day, paying interest upon pounds nominally lent to William Pitt, by devices such as that. Under great difficulties, Government have sometimes issued paper money. The revolutionary Governments of America and France did so; and great difficulty was afterwards experienced in redeeming or sweeping away the rubbish thus cast upon the market. The legitimate Governments of Austria and Russia have converted that kite-flying expedient of Provisional Governments into a settled form of State finance. Austrian money matters we have recently passed under review. Russia, it appears, after having for some time acted in a purer manner, is now reverting to the expedients of issuing paper money rendered worthless by its indefinite amount.

The London contemporary whom we have already mentioned, revives the memories of Russian finance during the wars of the close of the seventeenth and commencement of the present century. The money issued by Russia took its denomination from the silver rouble, value about 38d. or 40d. British money. The issue was excessive, however, and successive, and the value of the paper rouble declined to 30d., 24d., 18d., and ultimately 10d. It is true that Russia declared these notes nonconvertible, and decreed them to be worth so much; just as the value of our paper was asserted by an inverse process, the guinea being declared to be worth only 21s. when gold was at a high premium, and paper at a proportionate discount. In 1840 Russia redeemed those notes, but after a peculiar fashion—we may say an Austrian fashion; only having more power, Russia carried the Austrian fashion to a larger extent. New paper was issued under conditions which secured its convertibility at the real value of the rouble—namely, 38d.; but for every one of those new notes, three-and-a-half of the old notes were to be delivered up; and thus Russia wrote off the old debt upon payment of 28 per cent. upon the amount. That is how legitimate financiers keep faith with the public creditor! In Austria they do it by annual degrees; in Russia it is done at a blow.

Subsequently to the date just named, a sum of money was lodged in the citadel, to the amount of 19,000,000L. Russian authorities recently stated this amount at 22,500,000L; but the statement, which we doubted at the time, is rendered more intelligible upon consideration. Some portion of the bullion lodged in the citadel was abstracted some years back, and invested in the English and French funds; but there is no reason to suppose that the bullion has returned to the citadel: *restigia nulla retrorsum*. For is not every Czar a crowned Cacus? We can now perhaps guess how the amount of 19,000,000L has been raised to 22,500,000L, or, as we should now read it, 24,000,000L; it must be by adding to the 19,000,000L the 5,000,000L that was taken away. That is how despotic financiers eke out their resources, and, according to the Birmingham theory, they are not quite wrong: for was not the capital imprisoned in the citadel of St. Petersburg dormant, idle, and sterile? has it not, on being spent, been brought into circulation, added to the wealth of the country, and has not the Czar, in fact, added 5,000,000L to his resources?

Some years back he borrowed 5,500,000L to pay for the Moscow and St. Petersburg railroad, and then used the cash to pay for the Hungarian war. It is wonderful how this great Caesar converts every transaction to a profit! For, observe, Austria paid him for the expenses of the Hungarian war, and no doubt the Austrian payment went in augmentation of his resources. Thus he

gets money from English capitalists for railway purposes, sets them down on the credit side of the war account, receives a war payment from Austria, which goes into some other account, for the five millions have not been returned, and yet we have no reason to suppose that Austrian bullion has found its way into the citadel of St. Petersburg. It is almost certain that the 19,000,000L has received further augmentations of the kind which we have indicated above, but which in England we should call abstractions.

We are now then in a condition to understand the value of the guarantee upon which this 60,000,000 of rouble notes are issued. It is said that bullion to a sixth part of that amount is to be lodged in the citadel, in addition to the 22½ millions, which do not exist there. But as the Emperor has already betrayed his extreme want of cash, we cannot conceive how he is to lodge it there, except by borrowing it; or, as is much more probable, transferring to a horde in one place the sum of ten millions of roubles taken from the horde in another. For Russia has already found out the advantage of Mrs. Primrose's financial operation, when she gave her daughter a guinea a piece to keep in their pockets, with the injunction not to spend it. Always able to show a guinea, they appeared to have a genteel command of gold when they required it. Russia, then, is professedly issuing paper on the guarantee of 22½ millions of bullion in the citadel, when there is every reason to suppose that the 14 millions which remain there after the French and English investment has undergone successive abstractions. Thus the new paper is depreciated by one third or more in the very act of issuing; and when a payment is promised, in Russian money, to the amount of 100L, the utmost that the creditor can hope to realise, if he accepts the Russian money, is 66L 13s. 4d.—with every chance of its being considerably less. The caution of our contemporary, the *Economist*, therefore, that those who deal with Russia should stipulate payments in English money, is perfectly sound.

But, we say, the caution may be carried further. We would recommend those who possess money not to deal with Russia, except on cash principles, and not to deal with her at all, except on the security of the Far West—that is, with portion of the goods in one hand and a revolver in the other, until the equivalent be given. Anticipating war some little time ago, the Emperor summoned English merchants and endeavoured to cajole them into the belief that they need apprehend none of the effects of war in the seizure of British vessels. When the English merchants however, asked for some guarantee, the Emperor declined to give it. Now, there was an amount of Russian produce then on sale, and it was desirable to prevent that depreciation of price which any danger of shipment might have occasioned, and great was the zeal of the Emperor to prevent injury to the resources of his own subjects. But when the English merchants asked for guarantee—even for his royal word that if they brought ships to ship away that produce they would be allowed at least twenty-four hours notice of seizure—the Emperor declined to give it. Turkey granted his (the Czar's) subjects six weeks, or even three months, to complete their commercial transactions. Recently Russia has expected some retaliation from England, and a trick was attempted to evade it. Several Russian vessels, it has recently been stated, were transferred to English owners, that they might pass in safety under the English flag. English subjects, however, who risk their money and property, or any interest whatever, in such transactions as these, should be aware that by the public law of Europe, not only is trading with an enemy forbidden, not only is the property of an enemy subject to seizure, but trading by third parties is as illegal as direct trading, and the third parties themselves become involved in the risk and in the loss. It will be well for any capitalists to be very cautious in limiting their transactions with Russia, and to enter into no transactions at all unless they thoroughly understand every risk which they may incur through the war or through the dishonesty of Russia.

THE RECENT MEETING OF CONVOCATION. ANOTHER and a very decided advance in the progress of the Convocational movement we briefly recorded last week in our summary of news. But the character of the sitting at which that step was taken forms part of its importance and fully warrants further comment.

Two facts stand out in broad relief: first, that the House of Bishops recognised the necessity of making Convocation a reality or abolishing it altogether. That alternative was very emphatically expressed by Bishop Thirlwall, a man of moderate views, who cannot be supposed to be capable of paltering with the question. Then the speech of the Bishop of Oxford, going so thoroughly to the root of the question at issue, showing the dishonesty of tolerating for one moment longer than can be avoided, the present state of the Church, and quite confirming the strongest views we have ever ventured to take—a speech which made a deep impression, and which was not controverted—proves that the Church is now fully alive to its position. The active consequence of these views was, that the Bishops' House, with all but unanimity, agreed to appoint a committee for the purpose of framing a reform bill for Convocation. This is the most momentous step yet taken. It is admitted, and always has been admitted, indeed, the opponents of the movement have urged it as a charge against its promoters, that Convocation does not represent the Church at all, and that, if it did, the forms of proceeding alone would obstruct any real action. Well; that objection must be met by the committee. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury, doubting the use of Convocation—

"Content to dwell in decencies for ever"—yet thought it better to appoint the committee. Therefore we are approaching the time when the Church of England will be called upon to make good her tremendous claims and show how they can be enforced.

The second fact is that when the resolution was communicated to the Lower House, who should start up to oppose it but Mr. Archdeacon Denison. He saw in it a *coup d'église*. Recognising, as much as any man, the faulty nature of Convocation as it exists, Mr. Denison would not submit to one of the old forms, in compliance with which the Upper "directed" the Lower House to appoint a committee. Mr. Denison rebelled. He saw all sorts of heresies under the mask of the resolution. Appoint a committee? Not he. He would not revive the functions of the Church by a *coup d'église*. We have often before pointed out the inconsistent conduct of this gentleman—the churchman who abjured politics, but strove fiercely to facilitate Lord Derby's election and oppose that of Mr. Gladstone.

Last week he exposed the melancholy fact, that the Ethiope of the Church, any more than the Ethiope of Scripture, cannot change his skin. And, verily, he met his reward: he was made the tool of the Low Church party a third time in his life. As at Oxford in 1852 and 1853, so at Westminster in 1854. Nor can it be any consolation to Mr. Denison to know that his patrons—the Dean of Bristol and Mr. Montague Villiers—had collected their strength, had brought up their proxies, and yet failed. Mr. Denison must no more talk of church principles; thrice has he deserted and denied his party.

However, the useful and practical upshot of the sitting was not marred. By a large majority a committee was appointed, which, whatever may be the ulterior result of the whole movement, can but have a good effect; either in showing that Convocation must be finally abandoned, and with it the claim of the Church to unity, or that it can be re-established and set to work. If the former, how can the Church survive the blow; if the latter, what harm to the Church or the country will be done? One thing is very clear, as seen by the light of surrounding events and rising opinions; either the Church must succeed in restoring harmony, or she must split asunder.

TRUE REFORM OF THE NAVY.

GREAT improvements have been effected in the Navy, and we trust that one great practical result will be an increased willingness of men to offer for the service. Their pay has been increased; their comforts have been much better secured; a larger allowance of promotion is placed within their reach; and in practice the frequent resort to corporal punishment has been abated. A useful little tract, recently composed for extensive distribution amongst the seafaring class, puts some of these advantages in a very clear light, and is calculated to make the men better understand the improvements in the service.

Considerable as these improvements have been, however, there is a crowning one which we are very anxious to see carried out, but which

cannot be effected by any set regulations, and can only be fulfilled by the persevering attention and the vigilant tact of the principal administrators. While nothing is more important than to preserve the opportunity which has distinguished our navy in its best times, it is quite certain that we cannot do it by small indulgences, or by what a military man would call "pipeclay." We possess admirable specimens of naval architecture; we have guns that can match specimens from any arsenal; we have hands practised in levelling those arms with the highest degree of skill; we have officers thoroughly trained in the command of evolutions; but in action these great resources will be imperfectly used, if we have not in English officers and men that spirit of zeal which no pay can purchase, no indulgence in tobacco or bedding can bribe, and no regulations can compel. The British sailor does not long for action, does not impatiently await the day when England shall expect every man to do his duty, on the incentive of twopence a day additional, or on reflecting that he will be spared the cat-o'-nine tails. In vain would Mr. Hume reckon for him the total at the end of the year from his augmented emolument; in vain would Mr. George Thompson save him from the cat, if he had no other motives for action. Indeed, the cat never had any terrors for the really good sailor, who knows that he has no business at all with that institution, and who has as little interest in the matter as any ordinary and respectable man has personally in the improved diet or lodging of a gaol. The more rational discipline and increased comforts are valuable, chiefly as proofs that statesmen and legislators, who represent the country, take thought for the sailor, and are in some degree inspired by the "sweet little cherub that sits up aloft."

But the *esprit de corps* is a different thing, and is not affected by these considerations. The grievance to the genuine Jack Tar is not the cat, which is no business of his, but the irksome and vexatious restraints, the wanton interference with his harmless indulgences, which make him feel as much in prison when on board, as he would be in a state drawing-room or in the boudoir of a fine lady.

And there is a form of vexatious interference which makes the officer only too strongly sympathise with the sailor. The true evil genius of the service is the martinet. We have instances in our view, but as we are asking for an improved régime, rather than desiring to foster a spirit of discord, we abstain from mentioning those instances. When, however, we say that priggish officers have been known to countermand the orders of officers but one degree inferior to themselves in rank, and not at all inferior in capacity or fidelity, we are not making imaginary statements, but are referring to actual occurrences. When a crew witness such a scene as that in which a seaman has been ordered to his duty by a commander, permitted to go ashore by the captain, and subsequently set upon some duty by the commander, which neutralised the permission, not only was a bad spirit established between the superior and his immediate subordinate, but the crew noted the conflict, and must have lost its respect for both officers and for the system which they represented.

There are regulations which will be highly approved in Exeter Hall, but which irritate officers, exasperate men even to a degree of insubordination. Such are the rules to prevent men and officers from smoking anywhere but in the galley, except at particular hours and places: affectations of improved discipline which really destroy the very foundation of true and cheerful concurrence of officers and men in a general obedience for the manifest good of the service. Priggish pedantries like these become instruments of oppression in the hands of quarter-deck tyrants and martins.

THE LANCASHIRE STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.

III.

THE LABOUR MARKET.

HAVING arrived at some ideas respecting the progress of the cotton manufacture, the increase of production caused by the introduction of machinery, and the benefits which have accrued to the working classes from this industrial revolution (especially manifested in the sums of money distributed amongst them as wages), the question naturally suggests itself:—Whence have these operative swarms come which now people the length and breadth of the cotton district?

When the gross annual value of the cotton fabrics could only be rated at 200,000*l.*, the number of persons employed by the trade must necessarily have been very limited. If 40 per cent. of the gross value was expended in wages, it follows that about 80,000*l.* per annum was so distributed among the working classes; and if that sum be divided in the proportion of twenty shillings per week, it will be found that the cotton manufacture would then give employment to about 1500 operatives. At the present day about 13,000,000*l.* of wages is annually divided among the operatives of the cotton district, and this sum, at an average of ten shillings, goes to the support of half a million of souls.

But when we take into consideration the proportionate increase in all the other trades affected by the cotton trade, the employment afforded to the miners of metal and the miners of coal, the sailors who bring the cotton, the warehousemen who store it, the draymen and stevedores, and railway companies who transport it, the merchants who import it, and the brokers who sell it; the bleachers and the packers, who prepare the fabric for the foreign market; and all the persons employed in disposing of it both at home and abroad; lastly, when we consider the architects and builders, and brickmakers, and carpenters, and mechanics, and all the other planners, and workers, and sellers kept in activity by the creation and support of the cotton factories, we begin to perceive that the manner in which the inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton have fertilised our national wealth, is intelligible indeed, but that the extent is incalculable. That this great county of Lancashire owes all its wealth and all its celebrity to the cotton trade, is a fact with which every one is familiar, but it is curious to perceive how marvelously every requirement has been provided by nature to fit it for its present destiny. Little did the ploughman of two centuries back, as he painfully endeavoured to extract his daily bread from the not very fertile soil of Lancashire, dream that his share was passing over a rich store of mineral wealth that would one day prove more enriching to his posterity than all the gold of the Indies! Little did the humble fisherman on the banks of the Mersey imagine that the poor little town near which he dwelt would, despite the natural defects of its harbour, rise to the dignity of a port second to none in the world! Up to that time one of the most despised of counties, this poor barren Lancashire was found to have latent within it all the power and all the elements necessary for its brilliant destiny. The valleys had their seams of coal; the hills their streams of water. The peasant population, the hardy, resolute, intelligent, and patient population (and take all England round, there is no better breed than this strong-bodied and strong-minded Lancashire race), were ready for its work; the motive impulse only was wanting; and when it came, when Arkwright invented his *Jenny* and Watt his Steam-Engine, there arose, as if by magic, in every corner of the county, palaces of industry, mines of inexhaustible wealth, such as never entered into the wildest visions of the poet or the alchemist. Liverpool arose out of the raw material, Manchester out of the manufactured article. The railroad was another great stride, for it rendered easy that enormous carrying trade which was the necessary consequence of the new system, and which was beginning to make its inconveniences felt. Not only in the populous towns and the large groups of factories was the hum of industry heard, but on the desolate moors, and in the quiet valleys, and upon the bleak hills of North Lancashire the influence was no less manifest. Those who would see Lancashire in its activity, so as to form any just conception of its untiring industry, should not content themselves with visiting Manchester, and Bolton, and Preston (the great industrial capitals of the cotton district), but they should see the remote districts intersected by the Ribble and its tributary streams—Clitheroe and Whalley, Pendleton, Sabden, Padham, and Great Harwood. Eastward and southward of Preston lies a district which has hitherto been a hive of industry—Walton, Bamberbridge, Cuerdon, Leyland, and the prosperous little town of Chorley; stretching to the east we find Blackburn, Church, Darwen, Haslingden, Accrington, Burnley, and Colne; far to the south, in the district watered by the Irwell, are Bolton, Bury, Rochdale, Oldham, Ashton, Hyde, Stalybridge, and Stockport. Between all these towns, sometimes in places so wild and ap-

parently desolate that the traveller might imagine himself to be in Poland or the Danubian provinces, isolated factories are constantly occurring—links in the chain of industry that binds Lancashire together—sometimes on the banks of a stream that supplies the primitive water-power,* sometimes on the level moor, blackened by the coal that feeds the steam-engine. Such is Lancashire, such its industrious energy, and such the wealth-creating system which ignorance, injudicious management, and want of cordiality, fostered and inflamed by the specious tactics of designing agitators, is openly labouring to destroy!

I have before noticed that the population of Lancashire has increased during the last half century at the rate of *two hundred and one per cent.*; and this so far exceeds the common rate of increase from the natural causes of population, that we are evidently driven to consider immigration as the only mode of accounting for the fact. Mr. Edward Cheshire, in his summary of the Census of 1851, observes that "a large proportion of the population in the market-towns, the country-towns, the manufacturing towns, and the metropolis, was born in the country"; and this is especially true of the manufacturing towns. That the system of towns, the economising of space, over-crowding, and imperfect sanitary arrangements, give rise to a disproportionate amount of mortality, the statistics of recent epidemics too sadly prove; and, although it may be fairly contended that the working accommodation in the factories is much healthier than the old system of home-work, it cannot be doubted that a manufacturing town would speedily be depopulated if it had no other resource but its own to supply its generations. An Irish immigration, and the constant progress of the northern agriculturist southward, have hitherto been the great feed-pipes of Lancashire. Of late years, the employment of Irish in the factories has been very much disconcerted by the masters, but the extent of this source of supply may be inferred from the fact that in some of the factory towns one-half of the operatives are Roman Catholics.

If we take a map of Lancashire, and examine the situation which Preston occupies upon it, we shall find that it is upon the border of Factory-land. Behind it, to the northward and westward, is an extensive and populous agricultural country called the Fylde. To the south, the factories stretch in an almost unbroken line, down to Manchester and Stockport. The consequences of this position are—first, that food is much cheaper in Preston than it is in any other manufacturing town; and, secondly, that the surplus population of the agricultural district, pouring southward to find employment in the factories, makes Preston the first halting place. The farmers of the Fylde supply the Preston market with meat and vegetables; but the market-gardeners of Walton (one mile south of Preston) take their vegetables to the Blackburn market, although that town is nine miles distant from Preston, because they can get a better price there. In the best of times, whatever her earnings may be, a Preston factory-lass will live very well for six shillings per week, and this includes one shilling per week for her lodgings, which is the sum generally paid. Of course this does not include the item of dress, which varies very considerably with the individual; but it is an admitted fact,—admitted by the leaders of the operatives,—that from six to seven shillings per week is all that is needed to live in comparative comfort and with wholesome sufficiency. Those who are accustomed to a more extravagant rate of support, and who may deem it impossible for human beings to live comfortably for six shillings per week, may reserve their commiseration when they remember that, inasmuch as the average of earnings always exceeds that rate, there is no absolute necessity to keep within it; but that many do so in order that they may save money, and perhaps lay the foundation of a fund which may one day elevate them, as many of them have been elevated, to the rank of masters. It is to be feared that this saving disposition is not very widely spread; but that it does exist, and that it is practised very efficaciously, the statistics of the Savings Banks and Building Societies (to which I shall have occasion to refer when I come to speak of the social condition of the operative) afford ample proof. To propagate and foster this disposition should be one of the

* The water-power is still used to a much greater extent than is generally supposed. A very extensive factory in the vicinity of Bolton is mainly worked by this means.

principal objects of those who desire the improvement of the working classes; and, if for that alone, the co-operative mill system is deserving of the highest consideration.

The expenses of living being then cheaper in Preston than elsewhere in the Cotton District, the question naturally arises:—*Should the working classes take all, or only a part of this advantage?* This is one of the hidden causes of dispute between the masters and operatives of Preston. Some of the masters consider that because the cost of living is so cheap in Preston, that therefore labour should be cheap in proportion; and although this is wrong in theory, it practically works out a correct result. Labour may be a marketable commodity, but its price should be regulated by its own supply and demand, and not by the supply of anything else. If the demand for Labour be very great, and the supply very small, it is obvious that its value will rise until it can rise no longer, whatever may be the price of food. But then it must be observed that, where the price of food is low, there will the multitudes flock; there, too, will Capital settle (for Plenty always comes to Plenty). And where Capital comes, the demand for Labour increases, and so, by the operation of these much-abused principles called the Laws of Political Economy, Labour keeps its natural value,—which will always be slightly depreciated where food is cheap, because the supply of Labour is sure to be abundant.

The advantage which such a neighbourhood possesses over others less fortunately situated, constitutes the attractive power which it possesses for Capital and Enterprise. When a capitalist intends to embark his money in the cotton trade, he selects that neighbourhood which appears to him to possess the greatest number of advantages; cheap labour, cheap land,* cheap living, and cheap transport. The investment of capital in the neighbourhood of Preston, during the last twenty years, has increased far more rapidly in proportion, than in Manchester and its neighbourhood; and one great cause is the relative cheapness of labour. Two principles, therefore, appear to be plainly educated: first, that the employers of labour are not entitled to offer less wages because food is cheap; and secondly, that wages will inevitably cheapen themselves whenever and wherever cheapness of food attracts a plentiful supply of labour.

There is one very good reason why the average of earnings at Preston should be below those in other parts of the Cotton District, and this is, because it is the first halting-place for the emigrant operatives. It is very intelligible that raw hands, new to the business, should spoil more work and manufacture less cloth than the more practised hands, and these drawbacks necessarily affect the average earnings of the town. The further you go into the Cotton District the better you find the condition of the operatives. Born and bred in the business, the weaver of Manchester and of Stockport is far more expert than the average Prestonian,† and as he can work at a much higher speed of driving-power he produces much more work in the same period of time. I do not mean to say that there are not many first-rate operatives in Preston, but it is a well-known fact that the general run of Preston hands are not preferred further on in the Cotton District. Since the commencement of the lock-out, some spinners, who emigrated to Blackburn, have left their employment there and returned to Preston; the alleged reason being that in Blackburn the average speed of the mules being four draws per minute, and in Preston only three-and-a-half, they could not get through their work with any comfort to themselves.

A very strong corroborative proof of these statements may be derived from the statistics of the present lock-out. Although Emigration has considerably diminished the numbers of those who have been utterly destitute of any other support than that afforded by the parish, it has done absolutely nothing towards thinning the ranks of those to whom the union has supplied about forty per cent. upon their customary wages. The number

* In the outskirts of many towns, where the land has been used for agricultural purposes, any man desiring to build a factory, may get the site literally for nothing. The increase of the value of the surrounding land is, of course, the cause of this.

† A remark made by Mr. T. Millar, at a dinner given by the Mayor of Preston about the commencement of the lock-out, has been frequently quoted of late; namely, that in his opinion the Preston operatives were the best operatives in Lancashire. Even assuming, however, that this was not a post-prandial flourish, it should be observed, that Mr. Millar's work is of that description that his overlookers can engage none but very good hands.

of persons relieved weekly by the Weavers' Committee has steadily increased, since the 29th of last October, from eight thousand to upwards of ten thousand, and even the spinners (the most opulent of the unionists) have swelled their number from 2168 to nearly 3000. These facts very materially strengthen the presumption that, as a general rule, the Preston operatives are not so seriously dissatisfied with their condition as to seek relief by emigrating to other parts of the Cotton District. It may be urged, that locomotion is not so very easy for those who find it difficult to procure necessities; but it is to be remembered that Blackburn, and many other active communities, are within "easy walking-distance" of Preston. The truth is, that it requires a very great temptation to persuade any very large body of operatives to emigrate; bound to a place by their connexions, their sympathies, their predilections, and even their debts, the great mass of the operatives strike root deep into the soil where they fall. The settler in Preston generally stays there so long as he can find employment; his children go on to Blackburn or Bolton, and theirs again to Manchester; but those who talk about Labour being a "marketable commodity," must use the term in a general sense; for the operative is not to be carted about the country like a bale of cotton or a sack of wheat.

JAMES LOWE.

SERVIA AND THE RUSSO-GREEK CONSPIRACY.

The telegraph reports the discovery of a conspiracy, with the object of raising an insurrection among the populations on the banks of the Danube. The nature of the conspiracy is not stated, but the existence of a conspiracy has for some time been well known, and there is no doubt that the region is ripe with treachery of more than one kind. The word "Greek" has many acceptations, for it includes all that lies between the Greek revival of Athens and the Greek orthodoxy of St. Petersburg.

While Russia and Turkey are fighting for possession of the Danube, the Selonian populations cannot but be busily engaged in discussing their own interests; and while it is probable that the experiment of Russian rule in Moldo-Wallachia will hardly be thought more palatable than the Turkish rule, we may remember that the Greeks, like the ass in the fable, take but an imperfect interest in the conflict between the two forces; either of which, according to past experience, would be a hard master. It is true that, in the present day, the most bigoted Selonian must admit the Turk to be in effect more lenient to his subjects, theologically, economically, as well as politically, than the Russian. But if the Servian and Wallachian populations are arriving at some sense of Turkish improvement since the reign of Selim the Third, we must not forget that out of the efforts of the Selonians to achieve their own liberties has sprung a power of the native chiefs which has in itself become an object of ambition, and that the leadership of the Selonians is now a prize sought through various means, direct or tortuous, by the chieftains who gamble in the rise or fall of states.

In this respect not one of the Turkish provinces presents the Selonian problem with more distinctness and precision than Servia. Her traditions of Turkish rule are sufficient to make the Christian abhor it; and although from London, or from the diplomatic haunts of Pera, Turkey may be viewed as a power becoming imbued with European ideas, and as reforming its rule, it is quite natural that in Belgrade any improvement in the condition of Servia, in safety or independence, will be ascribed not to any abatement of Turkish insolence, but to the exertions which the Servians know their chieftains have made to free them from their Turkish tyranny.

The conduct of Turkey herself,—such is the inevitable misconstruction even of the most public actions,—must have contributed to give the Servians erroneous notions. If the Janissaries constituted a force which Selim himself wished to put down, they still represented in Servia the most hateful form of Turkish exaction and tyranny; and Servian sagacity can scarcely penetrate through intervening events to discern in the suppression of the Janissaries the desire of the Porte to reform its worst abuses, and to approach nearer to European government. When Czerny Jury, alias Kara Georgewitsch, the peasant patriarchal swineherd, who had been successively a ser-

geant-major in the Austrian army and a Huydiche, or robber chief, was called to command the insurrectionary forces of Servia, and developed an extraordinary genius in driving out the Turk, the Servians recognised the transitory freedom and independence which they then enjoyed as the result of their own revolutionary vigour. When intoxicated by power, Czerny Jury became the despot that revolutionary leaders so often become, he was regarded as lapsing into "Turkish" despotism. He was driven away by his successor, Milosch Obrenowitsch, to expiate his errors in the prison asylum of a Hungarian residence, under Austrian protection; and thus Servia again recovered her liberty by her armed prowess.

Milosch was recognised by the Turks, but only in the attempt to make a tool of him. He was used to induce other leaders to submit, and although authorized to promise them indemnity, yet, after they surrendered, he had them mortification of seeing them, to the number of 300, we believe, executed before his eyes, while many were actually impaled. Milosch, escaped from his tyrant allies, again aroused the guerrilla bands of Servia, and drove forth the Turkish soldiery, whose presence had been marked by the most intolerable cruelties and outrages. Again, Servia felt that her honour, her independence, and safety were secured by her own right hand. The destiny of revolutionary distinction fell upon Milosch; he also became a tyrant, and was driven forth by compulsory abdication. The temporary return of Czerny Jury, who was assassinated, and the election of Alexander Kara Georgewitsch, son of the swineherd chief, lent vicissitude to the history, but can scarcely obscure to the Servians the memory that while they were strong they secured safety for themselves, and won even the respect of Turkey. In the time of Alexander some degree of internal improvement has been realised, and Turkish Suzerainty is proved to be compatible with practical independence.

But Milosch survives, and he has been residing on his Wallachian estates, under the Turkish rule, or hovering about Vienna while the Conference was sitting. There has also been another illustrious intriguer making enigmatic movements. Gaj, who took up the Pan-Slavonian idea, and who has been the minister of Jellachich, has at various times been arrested by Austrian officers, and expelled from Austrian territory. His arrest has been followed by imprisonment for a few days, his expulsion was neither harsh nor sudden; and these apparent hostilities on the part of Austria are regarded as shams. Yet Gaj has been the great missionary of the Pan-Slavonian idea, through which Russia works. And Milosch, who now revives his claim of chieftainship in Servia, as the anti-Turkish leader, has been residing in Wallachia, where he formed that Greek legion to act as an auxiliary with Russia, whose pay is on a scale of magnificence. From a colonel, who receives four ducats a day, down to the private soldier, whose pay is about twenty pence a day—about the pay of a Russia captain—every rank receives emolument proportionate. With Milosch and Gaj it may be readily supposed that Russia has other means at work in Christian Turkey than her Gortschakoffs and armies; and that sometimes, whole provinces may suppose themselves to be struggling entirely for their own independence and advancement, while they are really counteracting the true source of their promised liberties, and are subservient to the most cruel despotism in the world.

THE NORTH AUSTRALIAN EXPEDITION.

GOVERNMENT has determined to take into its own hands the expedition to explore Northern Australia. The cause of this determination, although we are not aware that it has anywhere been stated, is pretty well understood. The plan for exploring the whole of Northern Australia, the western as well as the eastern half, originated with General Haug, and in its general purpose it was adopted by the Geographical Society. On consideration, however, in deference to the views of persons connected with Australia, it was thought better, in the first instance, to limit the expedition to the eastern half, and some other modifications were made in General Haug's plan. It was heartily supported by Sir Roderick Murchison, the late President of the Society, and we believe the Earl of Ellesmere, the existing President, continued that support. When the Society asked the aid of the Colonial Office, it was rendered at once; and the Treasury granted 2500*l.* Difficulties arising in the grant of some other kinds of assistance, such as free transport

it was well known that Government would have readily acceded to a request from the Geographical Society for an increased grant of money. But here came delays, originating certainly as little with the Colonial Office, as with the Australian Committee, or General Haug; nor is the Society at large, or either of its Presidents, suspected of obstruction. By taking the expedition into its own hands, Government overrides these delays, and brings to the expedition, of course, ample command of resources. But Government cannot put a commission of this kind into the hands of a foreigner: the command therefore is given to Captain Stokes, already known for his survey of the Australian coasts; and the Duke of Newcastle has pledged himself that the original projector, General Haug, shall have in the expedition such a position as his merits so well demand.

A "STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

"Sir," said Lord John Russell, last night, "the Parliamentary electors of this country are generally very corrupt: and therefore, Sir, I bring in a bill to correct their tendencies to be bribed and intimidated." (Cheers.) "Sir," said Mr. Lucas, on Tuesday, "it is a notorious fact that all the Irish members who have ordinarily supported Whig Governments, and who generally support the present Government, traffic in places and sell their country." (Abashed silence.) "Sir," said Mr. T. Duncombe, on the same evening, "that is a charge which has been directed against English members also; and I ask the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) to grant a committee, to inquire into the notorious suspicion that votes in this House are very frequently given by English gentlemen, in consideration of the receipt of desirable railway scrip." (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") "Sir," said Sir F. Thesiger, on Monday, "the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) is asking us to abolish what he calls useless oaths. Sir, I oppose that motion; for if we do what the noble lord wishes us to do, we shall unchristianise the Legislature." (Loud cheers from the Tories.)

These are the contrasts of the week. It has been a week of two questions: Shall the Legislature be unchristianised by the admission of Jews?—Shall corruption, of electors and elected, be put a stop to? And, very oddly, very few people perceive the moral of the contrast. For we do believe, in Great Britain, that we are a very first-rate nation, all in consequence of our adoption of the Reformed Religion; and so splendid is our training in our reverence for ourselves, that we really suspect nothing seriously wrong in the circumstance that, after eighteen hundred and fifty years of Christianity, several centuries of Reformed Religion, ditto of the blessings of the invention of printing, and twenty years of the working of "Reformed" Representative Institutions, we are complacently occupying a week in the consideration how we are to check British rascality in our picked electors, and British "man of the world, sir," tendencies in our enlightened representatives in the Commons House. In fact, at all our breakfast-tables yesterday morning, we hear-hear'd privately, as something satisfactory and re-assuring, the philosophical conclusions of our leading journal, *apropos* of Lord John's Corruption-Cure Scheme, that, after all, Englishmen had never yet realised the idea that the franchise was an honourable trust, or that the Representative could be an honest man! We are, indeed, a wonderful people: absolutely entitled to pity the Turk as a barbarian: particularly as the wretch does not believe in Christianity.

Despair was the tone of the debate last night on the Government's plan for instituting electoral morality in Great Britain: and it is very extraordinary that the profoundest and most melancholy despair of the people was expressed by the democrats—who rather wailed than spoke. Lord John's scheme is a good one, as something to look well at a moment when it is supposed "something must be done;" and if he had only made some provision for the *effectual* punishment of agents, and some other provision against corrupt "pairing" of petitions between the Coppers and Browns, there would be nothing to say against a piece of legislation which would then do all a law can to make saints of scamps.

But in all the light-company firing speeches which

followed Lord John's argumentative pitching of House of Commons' nets to catch corrupt members, there was discernible an intense doubt of the alleged benefits. Just as neither judge, bar, nor jury-men object, on the opening of assize, to the reading of the Queen's good-natured proclamation against drinking and swearing, so the House does not object to putting on record the most revengeful "acts" against corruption. But the House, with all its loud proclamation of desperate intent, is, practically, a Boysthorn—very mild, indeed; because the House finds it necessary to take electors as it finds them. Sir, it's a good scheme, said Mr. Napier, who thinks night and day how to keep out the errors of Popery; and, sir, I am sure we ought all to be grateful to the noble lord for looking after corruption so much. But it's no use: the evil is a moral evil; and you can trust only to a moral remedy. (Hear, hear, from the Tories.) Sir, said T. Duncombe, and, sir, said J. Walmsley, excellent democrats, it's a capital scheme. But it's no use: you must adopt the Ballot, if you are in earnest, for if you had the Ballot, nobody would bribe, not being sure of their man. These were the two classes of objections on the two sides of the House:—the Tories postponing earnest thought of the matter until Sir F. Kelly and Mr. Walpole have propounded *their* plans; and the Radicals resolving to look upon the scheme as part only of the general Reform Bill of the Government, the reality of the proposed preventives depending very much whether they are to be applied to the existing constituency or to newly-grouped and widely-extended constituencies. *Apropos* of the discussion, it may be here suggested that the proceedings illustrated the evil and the folly of Government *plans* being spoken instead of being laid on the table. Last night Lord John, who spoke sadly and in a low voice, was not heard by many members, and was misconceived by many more; so that he, or somebody for him, had to be constantly explaining or contradicting. At the same time it must be admitted, whatever was shown of the morality of the House, that wonderful vivacity was shown by most of the speakers in their rapid appreciation and keen analysis of Lord John's propositions.—Mr. Phain's, for instance, being not so much a sketchy criticism as a masterly, though unpremeditated, essay on the whole question.

As to the tone of the discussion, it is noticeable that the conscientious Tories, bewailing a "moral evil" which they so largely benefit by, did not crowd the dining-room less eagerly than usual as the seven o'clock joints came on; and that the democrats, who are champions of a democracy they would cheat into honest voting, were (I am informed) very hilarious toward ten, in the smoking-room, when Lord Clarendon's solemn silliness, in answer to Earl Fitzwilliam in the Lords, came, after matters more interesting than a mere question of war or peace, to be lightly chatted over.

Collective bodies have no consciences; or it must have suggested itself to the House of Commons last night that this was hardly the best week for reading a lecture to the constituencies on their sins, since the accuser had been accused, also. Members who understand matters, and who do know that the country won't go to the devil because certain Irish members are poor, and are obliged to make such arrangements with Hayter as to keep on good terms with their landladies, were not shocked by the scene on Tuesday. But there are a mass of simple-minded folks in the provinces who don't comprehend how the governors can be scamps, and the administration, nevertheless, efficient and respectable: and that scene of Tuesday has doubtless produced its impression on the "out-of-doors" mind,—an impression that will further the public notions of Reform in a more excellent method even than an agitation headed by Mr. Cobden. The impression would be all the deeper and more conclusive if the out-of-doors' nation would anticipate the technical committee obtained by Mr. Butt, and philosophise on the question of Parliamentary corruption. If it were analysed, then the indignation of Mr. Butt at the idea of any Irish member being otherwise than rampantly patriotic and ferociously pure, would strike the public as excessively comic. As Mr. Lucas pointed out, charges of the nature of those urged

by Dr. Gray are no novelty in political contentions; but hitherto the House has treated them with disdain: Lord J. Russell last session pooh-poohing Mr. Duffy's suggestion, that Parliamentary corruption had not disappeared with the Pelhams, as a trifling sneer, not entitled to the slightest weight, whether a fact or not a fact. And how then explain the sudden delicate sensibility of the House this session, unless upon the principle which implies that every prude is at heart a coquette? Mr. Butt was solemn, pathetically solemn, in his declaration that Irish members were occasionally "upright and independent;" and the House cheered with a gloomy earnestness, which indicated that they had heard that somewhat doubted. Mr. John O'Connell was shocked at the "miserable calumny," that an Irish member ever attended to any personal interests—Mr. John O'Connell being of a family which for twenty years "blew" Ireland out of 20,000 per annum—Mr. John O'Connell being sent to the bar, and Mr. John O'Connell's tailors being paid, by the contributions of pauper peasants; and Mr. John O'Connell, with, on his own showing, no ostensible means, returning to Parliament purely from belief that his absence is injurious to his own, his native land. John O'Connell was never cheered before in the House of Commons; but even a John O'Connell was acceptable at the moment as a witness to character; and John O'Connell sat down amid applause—particularly the applause of the Irish members in the neighbourhood of his own seat, these being the gentlemen on their trial, these being the corps of Mr. Sadleir and Mr. Keogh—renegades from the Brigade to Lord Aberdeen. But these cheer-like Hudson's tears next day, proved slightly to much. Why should Mr. Isaac Butt take upon himself to vindicate Great British Parliamentary purity? Mr. Butt is a barrister in bad practice, who turned up as a Protectionist orator in the days when Lord Derby was a Protectionist agitator. Now, there were two reasons why Mr. Butt's advocacy of the principle of Protection was suspicious. He was not a land-owner, and he was an Irish lawyer; and in plunging at Protection he had none of the excuse for the blunder in political economy which might be urged for the classes personally interested in the controversy. But Mr. Butt's Protectionist oratory brought its results: he was entered in Lord Derby's list as a useful man in the House of Commons, and accordingly there Mr. Butt is, nightly, wandering between his seat in the House and his corner in the smoking-room. He is there out of pure patriotism: and as the place he represents is a borough with about fourteen *bonâ fide* voters, his lofty mind is free for independent action in his country's favour. He, honest Irishman, is devoted to a party of English peers who maintain an alien church in Ireland, and who are but mildly enthusiastic in favour of such land laws as would render an Irish tenant somewhat more respectable than an Irish barrister serving an English party. He does not sell places; not he: first because he is in Opposition, and can't get places; and next because his soul revolts from the meanness. No: his aims are loftier: he has the worldly wisdom to know that the high is as attainable as the low; that men get what they pretend to; and that it is just as easy to bully a big Minister as a little whipper-in;—so he doesn't smoke with Hayter, but would dine with Aberdeen—and did actually dine with Lord Derby. Hence, as he never trafficked in small Customs places, like Mully or Bulivian, or any of his Irish friends, he is pure: and will sit solemnly as chairman of a committee to inquire whether Dr. Gray is a slanderer. That is comic; but morality must not make those distinctions; and just as Nero and the Incendiary of a haystack are both reprehensible, so when we talk of Parliamentary corruption, we must endeavour to understand who is really the most contemptible, the little member who, as a broker between the Treasury and Christian constituents, does not hesitate to pocket the commission (which you'll see him spending in great grandeur at his club), or the magnificent noble who, like Lord Derby, fights for corn-laws which plunder a people, or like the Duke of Northumberland, sells a Navy on which a nation depends. Lord John never broadened his phrases with greater emphasis, and never crossed his arms more austere, than

when on Tuesday he said, amidst general cheering, that the "hawnoe of the Haouse" demanded the investigation required by the sensitive Butt. Yet what is the sin of Mully or Bullivan in tapping the Treasury of an occasional £1 note,—as if they were expected to be ever at hand for Hayter's purposes in the smoking-room, and ruining their constitutions with Mr. Steers' incomparable Kinahan, for nothing!—in comparison with the crime of Lord John Russell, who, between 1846 and 1851, placed the whole power and patronage of the British Empire in the hands of the Russells, Greys, and Elliots? These poor fools of Irish members do betray their country, and do facilitate enormously an English Government's despotic management of Ireland. But the English Governments who seduce and buy them are surely somewhat vicious, too? Lord John, of course, knows nothing of the dismal transactions between a whipper-in and loose members; and Hayter will take care to tell Lord John Russell nothing; they are both "men of the world, sir," and know political exigencies. Hayter has a *carte-blanche*—has the Treasury patronage, and some control over a considerable slice of secret service money; and if Hayter didn't manage to keep a current majority floating about the lobbies, why Hayter would be dismissed from the enjoyment which is experienced by a shrewd nature in seeing other men convert themselves, by his agency, into knaves. And it is to be observed, that the anger on Tuesday against corrupt members was not because they asked places from Government in requital for votes to Government, but because they made a profit out of the persons for whom they got their places. No member would be ashamed to acknowledge that he expects, if he supports Government, to have all the small Customs, Excise, and other Government situations, within the district represented by him, placed at his disposal. That is the system: and such a system implies "Government by party," or a bargain between members and Governments; and it is a system which members will be sorry to see abandoned, for it enables them to keep up a useful connexion with the influential men who carry small constituencies.

Thus, Parliamentary corruption is part of the "constitution;" and the cause of it is—narrow constituencies—the existence of a class of "influential men." And, thus, it has to be admitted that the only chance of rendering occasional British electoral rascality innocuous, and a British House of Commons thoroughly independent, is in a wide extension of the suffrage. As long as the Mullys and Bullivans can work a constituency through a Hayter, and the Butts are dependent, not on the Opposition of the House of Commons, but on the favour of a great Earl, who uses an orator as he would use a tailor, we shall have eternal Dr. Grays endlessly enraged at unpatriotic "men of the world, sir." And, in the same way, we shall have a Hudson contriving a despotism in "private business," by adroit and venial distribution of preference shares. To do the House of Commons justice, however, it always limited Hudson to "private business;" while all Belgravia was caressing him the House laughed at him, and crushed him, and despised him; for he was not suited to them, and had as little business there as Gully had before him: and so, on Wednesday, when the huge carcass of the railway king was convulsed with sorrow, and whale's rather than crocodile's tears were pouring down his ample cheeks, they watched his tortures in silence—the stern, unforgiving silence of judges, who pitied but condemned. Had Hudson been a philosopher, he would have laughed rather than cried; and jestingly inquired whether it was really true that passionate political purity is the leading characteristic of British parties? Whether it was worse in a railway king to buy iron to sell to his company, than in an aristocracy to impose taxes which raised their own rents? Or whether, if he is forced to resign, Stafford—who made the public pay for an hotel dinner to his political friends—ought to be allowed the House of Commons' gallery for a perpetual nap-place after gorging in the gorgeous refreshment rooms?

Isn't it odd that the House of Commons, which admits Hudson, and Mully, and Bullivan, would be unchristianised by the admission of a casual rich Tory Jew, eccentrically chosen by an enlightened

city constituency? Yet again this year Lord John will be defeated on the question of the oaths, by the friends of Mr. Disraeli, who has vindicated Caiphas in a work to be found, now, in every Conservative and possibly Church library. For the personal interest taken in the efforts of Lord John, a most complacent Sisyphus when the House of Lords crowns the hill, there is still an audience to be got whenever Baron Lionel Rothschild sits in the Speaker's gallery to wonder how it is he cannot get a seat near Mr. Disraeli, to be revered by Mully and Bullivan, who, beloved though they are of priests, would even cut Hayter if an appointment was made for them at Sequin Court. On Monday the Jew question drew a crowd, as usual; and, as usual, the House of Commons cheered Lord John's practical reasons for not binding by oaths a Parliament which is so frequently inattentive to pledges. Lord John was abler than usual: his mind seems in the *age du retour*—more acute this session than it has ever been before; and, though on Thursday he renewed one of his *cous* of last session, and led a strong Government into a large minority on a small question, yet the estimate of him seems greatly raised—of his talent, certainly, if not of his tact. It was unfortunate that Mr. Cayley's proposal to give him a salary as "leader" came so immediately after the petty catastrophe referred to, which brought to mind his feeble and fatuous career all through the last year; and it really did seem as if Sir Charles Wood, with his haw-haw manner, was ironical in the eulogy which he delivered (or rather shot out) upon his noble friend's conduct of the business of the House. But there can be no doubt that there was affectionate heartiness in the cheers of Mr. Cayley's and Sir Charles's compliments: and that the question of paying a "leader" of the House of Commons was decided on grounds distinctly *not personal*,—as, also, though Mr. William Williams very likely fancied they were frightened of him, *not economical*. Lord John said it was "unnecessary" that he should enter into the reasons which induced him to occupy an unsalaried place in the Cabinet; and the House said "hear, hear" to that; the House, which doesn't know why Lord Palmerston resigned and went back, being happy in its ignorance of the arrangements of the governing classes,—being quite ready to approve of Lord John's appointment as War Minister, or Minister of Education, or whatever he may happen to hit upon; and being, generally, utterly indifferent to such remarkable matters as were, for the first time, brought to its notice in the course of the Albert revelations. This being, it is "unnecessary" to remark, an elaborately self-governed country.

For instance, asking questions last night in the Lords and Commons, whether we are at peace or war,—and not getting the slightest answer one way or the other:—Lord John Russell merely informed an eager but respectful House, that the fleets had returned to Beira Bay (which is news some of the papers have, I think, anticipated); and Lord Clarendon only stating that, "in point of fact,—ah,—I may say—that,—ah—Count, or General,—he is a General as well as a Count—Orloff's mission to Vienna had reference to—ah—yes,—the relations between—ah—Austria and Russia!"

Saturday Morning. A "STRANGER."

Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON

MR. COBDEN DISBELIEVES IN ANY ACTIVE SCEPTICISM.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

147, Fleet-street, Feb. 3, 1854.

SIR,—Mr. Cobden's late speech on Secular Education in Manchester was calculated to serve the majority of this country, and if unjust to a numerous minority, the public is still debtor for his services. From these services it is not my intention in any way to detract; and without any such risk, it is, I trust, possible, to make a brief comment upon a singular passage in that speech:—

"I don't believe in the existence of any active scepticism in this country; I don't believe in the existence of a *sect of sceptics in this country*, and I believe if there be a body of men who, as politicians, think they might propagate scepticism amongst us, they are a clique that might be put into any drawing-room, and be as harmless a clique as ever any drawing-room contained."

As politicians, sceptics do not attempt the propagation of scepticism; as secular sceptics, they do one thing at a time, and leave to others to mix up the affairs of the soul and the affairs of the state together. They know the place for their opinions, and would abhor as Jesuitry the attempt to make

the political platform an instrument of religious antagonism—which is more than can be said on the part of their opponents, who have nailed a board from the pulpit on every political plank in the land.

If there be no "active theological scepticism" in the country—the Clergy, Church and Dissenting, have been egregiously misled; for the press, platform, and pulpit team with replies to quiescent writers, with refutations and demolitions of a non-existent party.

One journal, representing a considerable number of active "theological sceptics," has proposed to put Mr. Cobden's scepticism, as to sceptics, to a practical test. It has proposed that the Honourable Member for the West Riding should throw open his own drawing-room, and the editor of the journal aforesaid undertakes to fill it every night with fresh doubters, from the metropolis alone, as long as the Honourable Member shall find it convenient to grant *seances* to the disciples of Pyrrho.

But why is Mr. Cobden sceptical as to sceptics? For a reason which the great Anti-Corn-law orator will not, upon reflection, think not discreditable—they have not obstructed themselves upon the meetings of Mr. Cobden's friends—nor intemperately advanced the claims of their own consciences—nor sought to press forward their convictions out of season. In this course of discretion and good sense they will strive to continue, although the penalty may be that their existence may be ignored.

One body of politicians in this country did, for a long period, force themselves, their claims and positions, upon every meeting Mr. Cobden attended. The Honourable Member believed in *their* activity. The "sceptics" are co-operative, not aggressive; their fraternal democracy does not mean antagonism and denunciation of every body who fails to see with their eyes or to go so far as themselves—they desire to act as an auxiliary band in reform movements—they will help where they can, and be silent where they cannot aid—oppose they will not any who work in the same direction.

The *Leader*, three years ago, contained a letter from Mr. Samuel Lucas (dated Nov. 18, 1850), in which that gentleman affirmed—what he doubtless believed would prove true—viz., that the Manchester National Public School Association would guarantee a system of "free secular instruction of which *all* Englishmen could avail themselves." This ground has been abandoned long since. The secularists as a body have no recognition of their claims of conscience in the Manchester School plan. The "sceptics" have long seen this, yet they have nowhere attempted any vexatious agitation in favour of a right as important and sacred to them as the right of the Christian is to him. They might have thrown into the secular educational question an element of discord—they might have asserted their own claims to recognition in a manner, and with circumstance not easily set aside, which would long delay and embarrass the settlement of the great question of National Education. Because they have not done this, let not the public suppose that therefore they are without activity, that true sign of earnestness. Not strong enough, indeed, to carry any measure on their own behalf, there was yet the course open to them to prevent anybody else from, or embarrass any other party in, carrying a wider measure. This policy has been but too often embraced in this country. I repeat, if the rejection of this disastrous policy is to subject them to be ignored as a party, it will prove small encouragement to working-class publicists to study a course of political usefulness. If the *Leader*, which has ever vindicated the rights of conscience, on the part of the friends of Free-thought in this country, permits this statement on their behalf, it will no less perform an act of public justice than encourage political practicability. To deny that anybody is active, is to deny that it is earnest, for earnestness ever proves itself by its activity. Establish the want of earnestness in any party, and you teach the public to contemn their claims, and justify the Government in refusing to discuss them. The voice of the *Leader* is powerful enough to award "sceptics" so much public recognition of their policy, as to render unnecessary that antagonism which Mr. Cobden's language would justify, and, if uncontradicted, would force upon them.

Within my observation it has been a maxim of the Whigs to refuse a reform because there was no public opinion in its favour, and then to refuse it when there was, because that was the "pressure from without." They would grant nothing to reason, when there was no clamour, and when there was a clamour they would not concede reform, because "that was yielding to force, what they had refused to reason." They cried up public opinion as the only arbiter to which they could decently bow, and then denounced vehemently as an agitator and a demagogue any who attempted to create the opinion.

In some such spirit Mr. Cobden has treated us; he ignores us because we do not make our claims existence felt in the discussion of secular education, and he would denounce us if we did.—Yours faithfully,

G. J. HOLYOAKE.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

This week the news reaches us of the death of SILVIO PELLICO, whose pathetic story of his wrongs, *Le Mie Prigioni*, is known all over Europe. He was in his sixty-sixth year, and it is only wonderful that he lived so long, suffering as he did from the pulmonary disease brought on by the hardships of ten years' imprisonment. Readers of Italian are familiar with his elegant tragedy of *Francesca da Rimini*, and read it with some reflex of interest from the author's own story. It was in 1820 that PELLICO was arrested as one of the Carbonari. For ten years he remained in Spielberg—a prison he and ANDRYANE have made a familiar horror. The Amnesty of 1830 released him; since that period he has been Librarian to the Marchesa BAROLO. In Italy of late years he forfeited the sympathy which his sufferings had excited, by renouncing his old opinions and siding with the "powers that be."

A correspondent writing to us on the disputed BACONIAN phrase, "Knowledge is power," says it is not in the *Advancement of Learning* nor the *De Augmentis* that we are to seek the phrase, but in the *Nova Organum*, of which the third aphorism is *Scientia et potentia humana in idem coincidunt*. To say that "knowledge and human power exactly coincide," is surely the same thing as to say that knowledge (with man) is power; especially when we take the passage in connexion with the *nec amplius scit aut potest* (neither knows more, nor can more,) of the first aphorism.

We will give the third aphorism, as translated by Woon, in order to show how thoroughly the phrase "knowledge is power" is but an ellipsis of the BACONIAN formula. "Knowledge and human power are synonymous, since the ignorance of the cause frustrates the effect; for nature is only subdued by submission, and that which in contemplative philosophy corresponds with the cause in practical science becomes the rule." In Bacon's *Distributio Operis*, which was published with the *Organum* in 1620, and which is generally but improperly prefixed to the *De Augmentis*, published three years later (an editorial interference similar to that which allows the first book of ARISTOTLE's *De Partibus Animalium* to occupy its present place, instead of being the introduction to the *Historia Animalium*), there is this summary passage:—"For man being the minister and interpreter of nature acts and understands so far as he has observed the order, the works, and mind of nature, and can proceed no farther . . . whence those twin intentions, *human knowledge and human power, are really coincident.*"

The new number of the *North British Review* opens with an elaborate article on *Shaksperian Texts*, in which that delicate and intricate subject is discussed with an amount of common sense rarely combined with such special knowledge. It is by far the best criticism we have read, and must not be passed over by any student. No fears of "dryness" and fribble-frabble about words need deter him from this essay; the writer has knowledge and uses it: he does not parade it. He makes it an instrument, not a bore. As a specimen of his style, here is a passage easily separable from the text, and worth separating: it relates to the connexion between Thought and Expression:—

"The connexion which expression has with thought is much more intimate than many people suppose. They have been taught to regard it as merely something in which thought is attired. But expression is much more than the dress of thought. It would be nearer the mark to call it the blossom of thought, or to say that it was to thought and emotion what the flame is to its sustaining heat. It is not a foreign annexation to thought, but its outgrowth or product, its continuation, a part of itself. It springs from the thought, as much as the portion of the plant that is visible above the ground springs from what of it is hidden below. The two are really, so to speak, one substance, or the one is only the other in a different form. This sets expression very high. It is the reflection of thought, if you will, or its picture, or its impression, or it is thought crystallised, or reduced from the fluid or gaseous to the solid state; in any way of looking at it, or figuring it, it is still essentially thought. It follows, that, generally speaking, or in every case in which the expression is of any moment at all, there can be only one adequate expression for the same thought. Change the expression, and you change that which is expressed. You change, if not actually the thing said, at least, in a greater or less degree, the effect with which it is said. And the more complex, or subtle, or delicate the thought, the more liable it is to be affected by any alteration of the words in which it is conveyed. In no writing that is really artistic can even a syllable be altered except for either the better or the worse."

"It is common to meet, both in talk and in print, with the notion that it is only the writer of inferior genius, or no true genius at all, whose compositions are very much dependent for their effect upon the words which he employs. The original thinker, it is argued, or the great inventive poet, need scarcely mind in what words he expresses himself. His power, which resides in his matter, will make itself be felt through any disadvantages of manner. Or, although his expression should to a considerable extent be lost or corrupted, it would be of little consequence. So long as enough remains from which to gather his meaning, we have all that we need to care for. And the example which is most frequently appealed to by our English preachers of this doctrine is that of Shakespeare. Any of his plays, we are told, will, after all, interest and charm an unsophisticated reader as much in the worst text or edition as in the best. The other qualities or ingredients of the work make us, or ought to make us, quite forget the words. We have the story, we have the characters, the situations, the meeting and contending passions, all that constitutes the action of the drama; we have all that really makes the imitation of life and nature in the ever animated and pictured page; even the rich and felicitous imagery, and the deep philosophy, cannot be more than very slightly obscured, and that in most cases only for a moment, by any injury which the expression may have sustained. Nothing, in short, is destroyed; some things are only made perhaps a little more difficult of apprehension, or a little less striking at first sight, than they would otherwise have been. The royal form is unmistakeable, for all the beggar's rags that flutter about it."

"Now we will not deny that something of all this does or may occasionally happen. Whatever be the field or the object of contemplation, only let the mind be strongly excited, and there

is hardly any deformity in what it admires that it will not overlook, or any deficiency which it will not in some sort supply out of its own resources. But the creative power thus called into activity is always dependent, at least for the character or quality of what it produces, upon the native capacity and acquired intelligence of the mind."

"People who believe that the perfection of the expression is little or nothing in writing are usually, in truth, indebted for their simple creed to their want of the requisite amount of qualification and perception to enable them to judge of such matters. They are much in the condition of those lovers of music with whom the neglect of the sharps and flats counts for nothing, and who sometimes think their taste for melody all the true and par on that account. It is no doubt an advantage which such a reader has over others in the perusal of a corrupted text of any great writer, that he is insensible or less sensible of its defects. What distresses a finer organisation, or a more learned and cultivated taste, gives him no annoyance. Sharps or flats, true concords or false, in tune or out of tune, it is all, within certain liberal limits, the same to him, and very satisfactory music. It is as good as he has any notion of or feeling for. But any higher excellence is a thing for which he has no sense, and all art properly so called is thrown away upon him. His coarse and undiscriminating voracity is a hunger only, not a taste."

The rest of the *Review* is less remarkable than usual, but there is a paper on *Arago's Life and Discoveries* and one on *Herodotus*, done with great care which will interest classes of readers.

Chambers's Journal, which commences a new series this year, and in that new series a novel by LEITCH RITCHIE and a work on America by WILLIAM CHAMBERS, is but slightly altered from its old familiar character; one change, that of giving a monthly retrospects of the Sciences, Arts, and Literature, is, a good change, but it will need more careful execution. One more suggestion: in the last number it has copied into its columns the article on BUFFON's misquoted aphorism, which appeared in the *Leader*, but there is no acknowledgment of the source; in future, when that compliment is paid to us or to others, it will be well to complete it by acknowledgment.

A new political and industrial journal for the working classes has been started by MR. WILLIAM NEWTON, under the title of *The Englishman*, in three halfpenny weekly numbers. Its object is well stated in the following direct and called-for remarks:—

"This Journal has been commenced with a definite object and distinct aim. The establishment of a Journal which shall represent the working classes is one of the necessary steps in the course of action, which must sooner or later be entered upon. The age of miracles has long since closed, and that of works has commenced. It will not do to have faith in the old watchwords which have so long been used to console those who are treated with injustice. A belief in the rights of the people, and that those rights will grow into facts in the natural course of events, is as foolish as looking for the harvest without sowing the seed. It may be true, that in the long run truth is sure to prevail; but that will only happen where truth is backed by efforts as persistent and well directed as those which now uphold falsehood. In short, trust in abstractions will leave us just where it finds us; and the only remedy for our social and political evils is to labour for their overthrow. We do not wish, when we say this, to damp that enthusiasm which is necessary for the success of every cause, but to state our conviction that that enthusiasm, when it takes the form of a blind faith, is right without might, is justice without power, is moral power without determined action to back it, is one of the most fertile causes of tyranny and servitude. While we, believing in the justice of our cause, rely upon it rather than upon ourselves for success, those who are on the side of injustice are striving earnestly to fortify their position. We attempted to say, that a bad cause without active courageous defenders is of greater impudence and practical power than the good cause which is left to defend itself."

The article in the *Times* on cheap literature can only be accepted with considerable qualification; but the main truth it desires to establish, of a decisive and prosperous tendency towards cheap literature, is one well-worth consideration. The writer forgets, in the first place, that the *Railway books* are not *books* in the library sense, they are only another sort of newspaper or magazine. He forgets that his arguments mainly apply to works of amusement, and all that the *Railway Literature* really does is to supplant the *Circulating Library*. It would be of little use to publish DUGALD STEWART, or SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, or FARADAY, or OWEN, or GROTE, or EVEN HORACE WALPOLE (to select a few typical names), in *Railway Libraries*. Moreover the writer, in his historical sketch, omits at least two very striking examples of cheap publication of *books*, viz., BENTLEY'S *Standard Novels*—a large series containing first-rate works—and CHAPMAN & HALL'S cheap edition of DICKENS and BULWER, in three-halfpenny numbers, commenced seven years ago.

DOUBLEDAY'S TRUE LAW OF POPULATION.

The True Law of Population shewn to be connected with the Food of the People. By THOMAS DOUBLEDAY. Third and Enlarged Edition. Smith, Elder and Co. This is a very interesting work, crowded with suggestive facts and statistics; but the "True Law of Population" is assuredly not here set forth, for it is not a scientific law at all, and could only be accepted, even by those who accepted it without qualification, as an empirical generalisation pointing towards the law. Its value as an answer to MATTHIAS is one thing; its scientific value another.

Mr. Doubleday is so modest in his statement, that the summary verdict just delivered must be substantiated, lest we be accused of the dogmatism he, in his own person, repudiates. To begin then, we believe it may be said that a Law of Population, to be a scientific law, must be a physiological, not a metaphysical generalisation—it must be the expression of the generalised facts of Reproduction. In other words, before we can express the Law of Population we must understand the conditions which determine the phenomena of Reproduction—until that is accomplished, we can only make approximate and empirical generalisations. Now the present condition of science seems not sufficiently advanced for such a deduction to be made, and Mr. Doubleday, indeed, makes no claim to any scientific foundation, modestly avowing that—

"The author by no means wishes to assume to himself credit for any general knowledge of physiology or natural history. Quite the contrary. In truth, his knowledge of this class of subjects of human inquiry is extremely limited, and altogether imperfect."

He has understated his knowledge, as this work shows, but we accept the admission as bearing out our objection; and having indicated this point we

shall be better understood when we now proceed to show the metaphysical nature of his conception. The law he proposes, we give in his own statement:

"The GREAT GENERAL LAW then, which, as it seems, really regulates the increase or decrease both of vegetable and of animal life, is this, that whenever a species or genus is endangered, a corresponding effort is invariably made by nature for its preservation and continuance, by an increase of fecundity or fertility; and that this especially takes place whenever such danger arises from a diminution of proper nourishment or food, so that consequently the state of depletion, or the deplorific state, is unfavourable to fertility, in the ratio of the intensity of each state, and this probably throughout nature universally, in the vegetable as well as the animal world; further, that as applied to mankind this law produces the following consequences, and acts thus—"

"There is in all societies a constant increase going on amongst that portion of it which is the worst supplied with food; in short, amongst the poorest."

"Amongst those in the state of affluence, and well supplied with food and luxuries, a constant decrease goes on. Amongst those who form the mean or medium between these two opposite states—that is to say, amongst those who are tolerably well supplied with good food, and not overworked, nor yet idle—population is stationary. Hence it follows that it is upon the numerical proportion which these three states bear to each other in any society that increase or decrease upon the whole depends."

"In a nation where the affluence is sufficient to balance, by the decrease which it causes amongst the rich, the increase arising from the poor, population will be stationary. In a nation highly and generally affluent and luxurious, population will decrease and decay. In poor and ill-fed communities, population will increase in the ratio of the poverty, and the consequent deterioration and diminution of the food of a large portion of the members of such communities. This is the real and great law of human population, and to show that it unquestionably is so, must be the aim of the following pages."

Here among the conditions which determine Reproduction we note a primary and essential the metaphysical conception of "effort to avert danger." This, like Nature's "horror of a vacuum," or the *vis medicatrix*, is not a scientific but a metaphysical conception. It runs through the work. Speaking of gardeners who remedy the plethoric state of plants too well fed, by "giving a check" to growth, he adds:—

"In other words, they put the species in danger in order to produce a correspondingly determined effort of nature to ensure its perpetuation, and the end is invariably attained. Thus, in order to make fruit trees bear plentifully, gardeners delay or impede the rising of the sap by cutting rings in the bark round the tree. This to the tree is the production of a state of depletion, and the abundance of fruit is the effort of nature to counteract the danger."

And running along with this teleological torch in his hand, he elsewhere exclaims:—

"What can be more pleasing than to contemplate this beautiful provision of the Governor of all things, by which fruitfulness is increased when the danger arises from insufficient nourishment for the plant or vegetable, and, on the other hand, decreased when the peril springs from a surplusage of what is needful."

So that even the love-combats of animals have this "final cause":—

"The conflicts that take place amongst all wild grazing animals at the time of rutting or breeding are no doubt intended for the same end—to lower their condition to the prolific point."

It may be thought, perhaps, that this metaphysical leaven is of little consequence, and that Mr. Doubleday's speculations may be accepted without it. But no. The mischief of all such conceptions is that they leaven the whole mass. Deprived of this, Mr. Doubleday's theory amounts to the statement that luxury and overfeeding destroy populations, solid moderate feeding keep them stationary, and poverty increases them. But this is not a scientific law. It is a general statement, which includes within it so many of the conditions that determine Reproduction, as to make it useful as an empirical generalisation; but no more. A scientific law admits of no exceptions. The exceptions to this statement are thousandfold. Are there not innumerable examples of noble and wealthy parents with large families? Moreover, is it not demonstrated that the domestication of animals—which means their being better and more regularly fed—increases their fertility? Thus the wild dog has but one litter in the year; the domesticated dog has two. The wild pig has but one farrow yearly, and that farrow of eight or ten; the domestic pig has two farrows, and often as many as fifteen at a time. All accounts agree that domesticated man is more prolific than the savage.

Now these facts show that the broad statement made by Mr. Doubleday with respect to riches and poverty will not hold good, except in as far as it touches on the specific conditions which determine Reproduction, viz., with respect to *plethora*. All his facts show that if you overfeed an animal, or a plant, you check or destroy its fertility. Perfectly true. But why? We will endeavour to answer this presently, but first we must show Mr. Doubleday in flagrant contradiction with himself.

He announces it as a "law" that whenever the species is in danger of destruction Nature "makes an effort" to counteract that danger, and her effort is increased fertility.

But he also announces, as part of the law, "that plethora or repletion is destructive of fertility;" yet it is his principle that plethora endangers the existence of the creature—consequently of the species; "extreme repletion (as all medical men know) lays the foundation of more diseases than does depletion." So that here, where the species is most endangered, Nature's "effort" is least employed!

Leaving this contradiction to Mr. Doubleday's meditation, we proceed to answer why plethora checks fertility, and why therefore there must be a great deal of truth summed up in the facts and statistics he has collected.

Life is a cycle of definite changes, every one of which depends for its manifestation upon some previous change; the phenomena are all successive and dependent. Among these phenomena there are those of Reproduction—very complicated, very delicate, very dependent. The reader will easily understand how, if it is necessary for the phenomena of growth that a certain definite series of phenomena should precede them, it is equally necessary for a certain definite series of phenomena to precede those of reproduction. Now by altering those antecedent phenomena, of course, you affect the subsequent phenomena. Overfeeding will alter them. How we do not know, but we know that it will; and it will do so more readily than miserable feeding. Mr. Doubleday's book abundantly proves this proposition, and on reading the following passages among those which he has thrown into an additional chapter, and which he emphatically declares "form no part of his intended argument," we were surprised that the writer could have so misconceived

what is the true law of population, as he misconceives it in the body of the work. Alluding to his own experiments in gardening, he says:—

"In pursuance of his course of experiments the author was, of course, led by the nature of his pursuit, to apply various substances which he either knew, or deemed likely, to contain in themselves, in combination, the active principle of manure, to various trees, plants, shrubs, and flowers, and to note the results. During this process, one result became, at last, strongly indicated to his mind; and this was, that whatever might be the principle of manure, or the substance that contained it, an overdose of it invariably induced sterility in the plant, and, if the dose were increased, disease and death. When trees were overstimulated by manures they made a superfluity of wood, blossomed extremely scantily, and only towards the extremities of the branches, in situations farthest from the root; and finally, the blossoms rarely set, or produced ripe and perfect fruit. In cases of flowering shrubs, the same defect of flowers followed, and with annuals and other flowers, the flower frequently became what is called double, and ceased to seed. To recover trees treated in this way, it became necessary to put an end to the overstimulation caused by the extra dose of manure by a reversed process. The tree was to be debilitated to a certain extent; and ringing the bark, extreme lopping, and trenching the roots, were the expedients. With plants and flowers a similar process of check or depletion, either by lopping, or, if greenhouse plants, by exposure to cold, was successful. The checked and debilitated plant flowered plenteously after a state of depletion; and the tree, after being lopped and ringed, began to bear. That the perfect indication of this law, in the increase or decrease of the vegetable creation, should lead the writer onward to an extended inquiry, was not only not unnatural, but almost inevitable. He was naturally induced to ask if the same regulation extended through animated nature? And, pursuing the inquiry, he found that it did so; that it pervaded the animal creation; and finally, was applied by his Creator to man himself. Still in the midst of all the various phenomena, either indicated by actual experiment, or narrated by the various writers on physiology or nosology, which the author was induced to read, he found little or nothing to indicate the *modus operandi*—that is to say, the manner or mode by which sterility in one case, or fecundity in the other, was brought about. That sterility in the human female was the frequent consequence of plethora, whether positive or relative—for so medical writers divide it—and that fecundity constantly followed the opposite state, he met with abundant evidence to show. To physicians and anatomists, however, the immediate and proximate causes of sterility, or its opposite, appear to be as great a mystery as they are to the writer of the foregoing chapters. Thus, the writer of the article 'Impotence,' in the 'Cyclopaedia of Medicine,' says, 'In the city (Dublin), where misery, poverty, and starvation exist, to a degree perhaps unparalleled on the face of the globe, procreation proceeds with extraordinary rapidity; and it has fallen to the writer's lot, through his connexion with the Coombe Lying-in Hospital, to witness the birth of numberless infants, whose unfortunate parents had not for years partaken of a wholesome meal.' Here we have evidence of the fact of starvation and fecundity going on hand in hand; on this point the writer is decisive; but of the mode by which Nature causes prolificness in the female to be a consequence of a constant state of depletion, he gives no hint. The same knowledges of the fact, joined with the same ignorance of the mode, is evinced by those writers who adduce barrenness as one consequence of a state of plethora in the human female. Thus, Dr. Coombe, in his work 'on Digestion and Dietetics,' gives the following instructive statement:—

'A young woman of a healthy constitution, brought up in all the simplicity of country habits, passed at once, on her marriage, to a less active mode of life, and to a much more elegant table. In a short time she began to complain of irritability, lassitude, various spasmodic sensations, and habitual constipation. *Hypocondria* was soon added to the other symptoms. Her hope of becoming a mother was always deceived, an additional glass of wine, bark, and other tonics were ordered; the evil increased. The patient became melancholy, and believed that she was always swallowing pins. In the course of the year she became so emaciated and yellow that her mother, who had not seen her for eleven months, could scarcely recognise her. After an eighteen months' course of purgatives and two courses of Marienbad water, she entirely recovered.' Here is evidence of the fact, and of the strongest sort; for the plethoric state here induced was 'relative' and not 'positive.' The appearance of a healthy obesity, which is 'positive plethora,' was not induced. The functions of life were, however, disordered to a great extent—disordered and clogged; the biliary, digestive, and excretory vessels could not act; and, as it should seem, those more minute ducts, on the free action of which conception by the female seems to depend, were partakers of the general constitutional derangement, arising from this overloading of the system. And here the author would respectfully ask those qualified by education and knowledge to answer such a question, What is there extraordinary in this? If a state of plethora can, as it is held it can, prevent the action of a gland or of a viscous, why should it not be a sufficient cause for the inaction of that finer and more minute apparatus upon the unimpeded state of which must, probably, depend the transit of the ovum from the ovarium to the uterus; or what of improbability is there in the supposition, that, during a state of unnatural obesity and repletion, this must be the case, and vice versa? These are, of course, questions for the anatomist and physiologist alone; and in suggesting them, the author would only guard those who treat of this subject, from confounding with a state of true plethora, that apparent pinguedine or bleatedness of fibre which is a frequent accompaniment of debility, especially in the strumous constitution, which most writers hold to originate in debility—the consequence of deficient nourishment, and an unnatural state of depletion."

What is there surprising in the fact of an overdose of manure being injurious? Oxygen is indispensable to the life of every animal; yet if our atmosphere were slightly overoxygenated it would be violent poison. There is a proportion between aliment and structure which, if exceeded, disease and death ensue. There is consequently a proportion to be preserved between the nutritive and reproductive processes: all violations of such proportions are destructive. An underfed soil will no more produce vegetables than an overfed soil.

Although we have devoted this paper to a refutation of the "True Law" announced by Mr. Doubleday, we must not be understood to be negligent of the interest and value of his work. If not what it claims to be, it is a very serviceable contribution, and well worthy the reader's attention.

THE RUSSIANS OF THE SOUTH.

The Russians of the South. By Shirley Brooks. Price 1s. Longman and Co. This is the 53rd number of the *Traveller's Library*, a series which is at once both cheap and excellent, adapted by its varied literature to the wants of the reader, and adapted by its form and typography to the wants of a travelling reader.

Mr. Shirley Brooks, in his *Russians of the South* has done more than produce a book *de circonference*. The present interest in Russia and things Russian, will attract the reader to the little volume, but he will be chained there by the intrinsic interest of its contents.—The author was sent by the *Morning Chronicle* to examine and report on the state of agriculture in Southern Russia. Carrying with him the journalist's tendency to see and describe characteristic details, a tendency increased by the momentum of a definite purpose, Mr. Shirley Brooks entered Russia without many preconceptions, and allowed things to make their impression on him. With what justice he has appreciated, and with what accuracy described Russia we have no means of deciding. But the book has a trustworthy appearance; and is very agreeable to read. There is occasionally too much of the writer

visible—a desire to extract amusement out of trifles by the way they are treated; but on serious occasions he is seriously graphic.

We must refer the curious reader to all the details here given of agriculture, and the condition of the agricultural classes, as well as the description of the military organisation of all Russian affairs. A passage or two are all we can find room for.

THE TRANSIT OF CORN.

"In order to judge at what cost the most important of those exports is thus brought, and in order to enable an inquirer to predict with any approach to certainty what could be done under the pressure of the most extraordinary temptation from without, let us leave the sharp stones, deep mud, or clouds of dust of Odessa, and examine the tracts along which those long lines of bullock wagons come creaking from more northerly directions. I have said that a vast belt of Steppes girdles this coast. We are upon the Steppes. The prevailing colour, as far as the eye can reach over the immense plain, is a scorched brown. The intense heat and drought have reduced the Steppes to this condition, and far beyond the horizon line, and away, verst upon verst, is the same dreary-looking and apparently waste expanse. Not that it is all flat—hills, barren and rugged, diversify the line, and add to its difficulties in dry weather considerably, in wit incalculable. For look at the ground on which you stand. You are on one of the roads, as they are termed. Elsewhere, a road, good or bad, means something which has been made—line upon which has been gathered material for binding and clasping, and below which there is some kind of draining; bad or good, the road is, as compared with the adjacent land, dry, compact, and elastic. Dismiss all such ideas from your mind, or rather drag your limbs for an hour behind that corn wagon, and such ideas will disappear of themselves. Dead and helpless seems that wobegone track, creaking and drawing over which comes the bullock-wagon—all wood, and built precisely as wagons were built a thousand years ago. The driver sits in front, occasionally lashing the grey bullocks more by way of form than with any idea of hastening them, and his mazy beard hangs down over a species of censer, whence arises fumes of an unsavoury kind. But it is not in luxury, or in imitation of his eastern neighbours, that the peasant keeps this odour-breathing vessel under his nose—the contents are an abominable mixture for greasing the wheels of his wagon, and by which you may track it through many a yard of tainted air. Why he has placed the reeking vessel exactly between his legs I know not, unless it be to remind himself more forcibly of the necessity of an operation, without the incessant performance of which his clumsy built cart would be on fire in four places at once. Contrast this wretched machine with the well-contrived, iron-mounted cart of the German colonist, a few miles hence. But on goes the wagoner, jolting and creaking along the unhelpful soil, and singing some of those old airs in which, rude as they are, there is a certain melody, or saying prayers to one or other of the multifarious national saints. On he goes, and so he and his predecessors have gone since corn was grown in Russia. Ricketty carts, knotted rope harness, drowsy bullocks, wretched road—so crawls the loaf towards the Englishman's table."

RAILROADS IN RUSSIA.

"In all this monster empire, while the rest of Europe has been spinning its myriads of iron cobwebs from wall to wall, and from tower to tower, one line has been laid down (I do not speak of Poland), and that one a line which was all but unnecessary, and which actually runs along one of the few lines of Russian intercourse for which a capital road had already been laid down. The undertaking was either a job, or a mere effort of vanity; probably both. But it will not be imitated. Railroads are not encouraged in Russia; they are considered as connected in some way with the revolutionary tendencies of the age, and are accordingly disfavoured. As regards the transit of soldiery—the only point, of course, upon which it is worth the while of Russian authority to consider them—the matter has been pondered, and the Emperor finds that he can move his armies (their appurtenances taken into account) as advantageously without rails as with them. As to private enterprise here, that is entirely out of the question. Without pausing to ask whether you can expect railway progress in a country which leaves one of its most splendid and important ports undrained and unlighted, or where the nation's very almanac is left a laughing-stock to Europe, we shall find that a more practical, if not a more real, obstacle opposes itself to the establishment of railways were they ever so much desired. There is no capital. The sinews of railway war are wanting. The money could not be found. In saying this, I am simply recording the answer made by tradesmen, by merchants, by proprietors, by natives, as well as foreigners, and even (in whispers) by daring officials, when questioned concerning the stagnation of all national and popular enterprise—'We have no money as a nation.' I have received this answer a hundred times. Many Russians are rich, but Russia is poor. With this answer, of course, ceases my share in the question, as it appears to meet the inquiry which would occur to an Englishman on first considering the position of Odessa."

There is one very ludicrous and instructive illustration of the *passport system*. Everybody in Russia must have his ticket of leave to live—his *billet de séjour*. That necessity not only hangs over him in this world, but is supposed to hang over him in the next, e. g. —

"When the battle of life is fought, and its dead soldier brought into the house of God, that the last rites may be performed over the body, watch the process. After certain ceremonies of an imposing character, the priest approaches the coffin, which is open, and strews incense upon the breast of the dead. He then reads a paper, unfastens the front of the dress of the corpse, and places the document in the bosom. The interment then proceeds. That document is a *certificate and passport*, without which (duly signed by the priest) the officer in charge of the gate of heaven would refuse entrance to the soul of the departed. Even St. Peter demands the sight of a soul's papers. What objection can a worshipper of St. Peter make to such a system? He must, on the contrary, rather regard the renewing of his *billet de séjour* as a species of religious ceremony, and look upon the police officials as resembling his own priests—a point in which he will not greatly slander either party, both being, very generally, remarkably venal, dissolute, and worthless."

DE QUINCEY'S NEW VOLUME.

Autobiographic Sketches. By Thomas de Quincey. Vol. II. Price 7s. Ed. Edinburgh, James Hogg.

This second volume of De Quincey's writings, which we have impatiently awaited through many months of unaccountable and most impolitic delay, (and which, by the way, has only the obscure indication of two asterisks on the title-page to inform us that it is a second volume), does not present such material for criticism as the first. It has few of those wondrous bursts of eloquence which form the charm of the first volume; scarcely any of those revelations of psychological interest. But it is as discursive, digressive, and as overloaded with insignificant details. It will, however, be fascinating to all interested in the Lake Poets, devoted as it mainly is to the writer's recollections of Grasmere, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey.

We must be sparing in our extracts. Here is one on

THE PLAGIARISMS OF COLERIDGE.

"A more singular case of Coleridge's infamy is this:—In a very noble passage of 'France,' a fine expression or two occur from 'Sampson Agonistes.' Now, to take a phrase or an inspiring line from the great fathers of poetry, even though no marks of quotation should be added, carries with it no charge of plagiarism. Milton is justly presumed to be as familiar to the ear as nature to the eye; and to steal from him as impossible as to appropriate, or to sequester to a private use, some 'bright particular star.' And there is good reason for rejecting the typographical marks of quotation: they break the continuity of the passage, by reminding the reader of a printed book; on which account Milton himself, (to give an instance) has not marked the sublime words, 'tormented all the air,' as borrowed; nor has Wordsworth, in applying to an unprincipled woman of commanding beauty the

memorable expression, 'a weed of glorious feature,' thought it necessary to acknowledge it as originally belonging to Spenser. Some dozens of similar cases might be adduced from Milton. But Coleridge, when saying of republican France—that,

'Insupportably advancing,

Her arm made mockery of the warrior's tramp,'

not satisfied with omitting the marks of acknowledgment, thought fit positively to deny that he was indebted to Milton. Yet who could forget that semi-chorus in the 'Sampson,' where the 'bold Ascalonite' is described as having 'fled from his lion ramp?' Or who, that was not in this point liable to some hallucination of judgment, would have ventured on a public challenge (for virtually it was that) to produce from the 'Sampson,' words so impossible to be overlooked, as those of 'insupportably advancing the foot?' The result was, that one of the critical journals placed the two passages in juxtaposition, and left the reader to his own conclusions with regard to the poet's veracity. But in this instance it was common sense rather than veracity which the facts impeach.

"In the year 1810, I happened to be amusing myself, by reading, in their chronological order, the great classical circumnavigations of the earth; and coming to Shelvoke, I met with a passage to this effect:—That Hatley, his second captain (i. e. lieutenant), being a melancholy man, was possessed by a fancy that some long season of foul weather, in the solitary sea which they were then traversing, was due to an albatross which had steadily pursued the ship; upon which he shot the bird, but without mending their condition. There at once I saw the germ of the 'Ancient Mariner'; and I put a question to Coleridge accordingly. Could it have been imagined that he would see cause utterly to disown so slight an obligation to Shelvoke? Wordsworth, a man of stern veracity, on hearing of this, professed his inability to understand Coleridge's meaning; the fact being notorious, as he told me, that Coleridge had derived, from the very passage I had cited, the original hint for the action of the poem; though it is very possible, from something which Coleridge said on another occasion, that, before meeting a fable in which to embody his ideas, he had meditated a poem on delirium, confounding its own dream-scenery with external things, and connected with the imagery of high latitudes.

"All these cases amount to nothing at all, as cases of plagiarism, and for this reason expose the more conspicuously that obliquity of feeling which could seek to decline the very slight acknowledgments required. But now I come to a case of real and palpable plagiarism; yet that too of a nature to be quite unaccountable in a man of Coleridge's attainments. It is not very likely that this particular case will soon be detected; but others will. Yet who knows? Eight hundred or a thousand years hence, some reviewer may arise, who, having read the 'Philosophical ____' of Schelling, the great Bavarian professor, a man in some respects worthy to be Coleridge's assessor; and he will then make a singular discovery. In the 'Biographia Literaria,' occurs a dissertation upon the reciprocal relations of the *Esse* and the *Cogitare*, that is, of the *objective* and the *subjective*: and an attempt is made, by inverting the postulates from which the argument starts, to show how each might arise as a product, by an intelligible genesis, from the other. It is a subject which, since the time of Fichte, has much occupied the German metaphysicians; and many thousands of essays have been written on it, or indirectly so, of which many hundreds have been read by many tens of persons. Coleridge's essay, in particular, is prefaced by a few words, in which, aware of his coincidence with Schelling, he declares his willingness to acknowledge himself indebted to so great a man, in any case where the truth would allow him to do so; but in this particular case, insisting on the impossibility that he could have borrowed arguments which he had first seen some years after he had thought out the whole hypothesis *proprio marте*. After this, what was my astonishment, to find that the entire essay, from the first word to the last, is a verbatim translation from Schelling, with no attempt in a single instance to appropriate the paper, by developing the arguments or by diversifying the illustrations!"

These are but specimens, a larger survey of Coleridge's plagiarisms, while it astounds by the revelation of their number, only serves to deepen the impression of his utter want of veracity, so that when he excused his indifference to his wife, on such grounds as the following, we know how much credence to bestow: —

"Coleridge, besides, assured me that his marriage was not his own deliberate act, but was in a manner forced upon his sense of honour by the scrupulous Southey, who insisted that he had gone too far in his attentions to Miss Fricker, for any honourable retreat. On the other hand, a neutral spectator of the parties protested to me, that, if ever in his life he had seen a man under deep fascination, and what he would have called desperately in love, Coleridge, in relation to Miss F., was that man."

A note or two upon two notes of De Quincey's, and our present notice must close. His learning is remarkable both for its extent and accuracy; and yet every now and then we see him puzzling over things not by any means recondite. E. g. :—

"Veterinary:—"By the way, whence comes this odd-looking word? The word *veterinary* I have met with in monkish writers, to express *domesticated quadrupeds*; and evidently from that word must have originated the word *veterinary*. But the question is still but one step removed: for how came *veterana* by that acceptance in rural economy?"

Whatever use monkish writers may have made of *veterana*, it is quite clear the word *veterinary* does not owe its parentage to them, but to the Latin word of the same signification, *veterinarius*, which comes from *veterinus* (and if we are not deceived by a treacherous memory, there is even the word *veterina* for beasts of burden).

On the Pindaric passage πορφύρεος φως ερωτος which Gray has (falsely, according to De Quincey) translated "the purple light of love," there is this note: —

"Falsely, because πορφύρεος rarely, perhaps, means in the Greek use what we mean properly by *purple*, and could not mean it in the Pindaric passage; much oftener it denotes some shade of crimson, or else of *puniceus*, or blood-red. Gibbon was never more mistaken than when he argued that all the endless disputing about the *purpures* of the ancients might have been evaded by attending to its Greek designation, viz., *porphyry*-colored: since, said he, *porphyry*, is always of the same colour. Not at all. Porphyry, I have heard, runs through a large a gamut of hues as marble; but, if this should be an exaggeration, at all events porphyry far from being so monochromatic as Gibbon's argument would presume. The truth is, colours were as loosely and latitudinarily distinguished by the Greeks and Romans as degrees of affinity and consanguinity are everywhere. *My son-in-law*, says a woman, and she means my *step-son*. *My cousin*, she says, and she means any mode of relationship in the wide, wide world. *Not neveus*, says a French writer, and means—not our *nephews*, but our *grandchildren*, or more generally our *descendants*."

On the meaning of this word πορφύρεος—*purpureus*—purple every classical reader knows the disputes are interminable. Nothing is settled by saying that it is oftener used as *blood red*, especially when we remember that Anacreon speaks of the "purple tresses" (πορφύραι χαραις) of his mistress, and then he surely did not mean blood red; he also speaks of "sea-purple carpets" (αλιστρόφυροι ταπηται) and sea-purple cannot be blood red. Pindar may have used the word metaphorically, as we know the Romans did to express lustre or magnificence. For example, is it not Horace who talks of the "purple swans" of Venus, *purpureos olores*—surely a more rare avis than the rarest of all, the *black swan*!

We must cease this gossip, and we do so with the hope that the next volume of De Quincey's works will not be so long in making its appearance.

* I forgot the exact title, not having seen the book since 1823, and then only for one day; but I believe it was 'Schelling's Kleine Philosophische Werke.'

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

<i>Observations of a Solicitor on the Right of the Public to form Limited Liability Partnerships, and on the Theory, Practice, and Cost of Commercial Charters.</i> By E. W. Longman and Co.	<i>Lady Lee's Widowhood.</i> By E. B. Howley. 2 vols.	W. Blackwood and Sons.
<i>The Ballad of Babe Christabel. With other Lyrical Poems.</i> By Gerald Massey.	<i>The Laws of War, affecting Commerce and Shipping.</i> By H. B. Thompson, Esq., B. Smith, Elder, and Sons.	
<i>The Works of George Herbert in Prose and Verse.</i> Edited by Reverend R. A. Willmott.	<i>Oxford Reform and Oxford Professors.</i> By H. H. Vaughan.	J. W. Parker and Sons.
<i>The Natural History of Selborne.</i> By the late Reverend G. White.	<i>The Englishman. Part I.</i>	Holyoake and Sons.
<i>G. Routledge and Co.</i>	<i>The Charms of Nature, and other Poems.</i> By F. S. Piernont.	Addis and Sons.
<i>G. Routledge and Co.</i>	<i>The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century.</i> By John Burnet.	D. Bogue.
<i>G. Routledge and Co.</i>	<i>The Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art.</i> By John Timbs.	D. Bogue.
<i>G. Routledge and Co.</i>	<i>Jack and the Bean Stalk. (George Cruikshank's Fairy Library.)</i>	D. Bogue.
<i>G. Routledge and Co.</i>	<i>Musical Letters from Abroad.</i> By Powell Mason.	Mason Brothers.
<i>E. Stanford.</i>	<i>Morbida; or Passion Past; and other Poems from the Cymric and other Sources.</i>	
<i>E. Stanford.</i>	<i>English Democracy.</i> By J. A. Langford.	Saunders and Otley.
<i>John Chapman.</i>	<i>The Irish Church Journal.</i>	John Chapman.
<i>John Chapman.</i>	<i>The Future of the Human Race.</i> By Robert Owen.	S. B. Oldham.
<i>John Chapman.</i>	<i>The Star-Chamber.</i> By W. H. Ainsworth. 2 vols.	E. Wilson.
<i>W. P. Kennedy.</i>	<i>Paul Clifford. (The Railway Library.)</i>	G. Routledge and Co.
<i>W. P. Kennedy.</i>	<i>The Poetical Works of Goldsmith, Collins, and T. Warton.</i> By the Rev. G. Gilfillan.	G. Routledge and Co.
<i>Ward and Co.</i>	<i>Our Cruise in the Undine.</i> By the Captain.	J. Nichol.
<i>Ward and Co.</i>	<i>Nugae: The Solace of Rare Leisure, in Verse.</i> By the Rev. J. Banks, M.A.	J. W. Parker and Son
<i>Longman and Co.</i>		R. Hardwick.
<i>James Hogg.</i>		
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<i>Colonel Chesney, R.A., D.C.L., F.R.S.</i>		
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BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

BRACKLEY.—Feb. 6, at 48, Grosvenor-street, the Viscountess Brackley: a son.
GOWER.—Feb. 8, at 145, Piccadilly-terrace, the Lady Margaret Leveson Gower: a daughter, stillborn.
MORELLA.—Feb. 3, at 31, Eaton-square, the Countess de Morella: a son.
NEVILLE.—Feb. 7, at 29, Upper Grosvenor-street, the Lady Dorothy Nevill: a daughter.
ORMONDE.—Feb. 5, in Charles-street, Berkeley-square, the Marchioness of Ormonde: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

DRAGE—MILLER.—Feb. 2, at St. Paul's Deptford, Austin, second son of John Drage, Esq., Budham, Norfolk, to Ellen, second daughter of the late Captain Alexander Miller of Mile-end.
SKINNER—GOLD.—Dec. 9, at St. Andrew's Church, Singapore, John Skinner, Esq., of the Oriental Bank Corporation, to Elizabeth, only child of the late Charles Gold, Esq., London, stepdaughter of John Mitchell, Esq., of Abbey-place, St. John's-wort.
SHEPHERD—HARINGTON.—Dec. 12, at St. Paul's Church, Agra, by the Rev. W. Jay, M.A., John Walter Sherer, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, to Louisa Giorgiana, eldest daughter of Henry Byng Harington, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.

DEATHS.

CLIFFORD.—Jan. 31, at York, George Lambert Clifford, Esq., youngest son of the Hon. Thomas Clifford, late of Tickhill, in the county of Stafford R. I. P. Aged seventy-five.
ENOCH.—Feb. 6, Captain James John Enoch, late of the Pittieh Regiment, son of Lieutenant Colonel Enoch, Assistant-Quartermaster-General at the Horse Guards.
ST. GEORGE.—Jan. 21, lost, on board the ship *Tayleur*, off Liverpool Island, Arthur St. George, fourth son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel L'Estrange of Moystown, in the King's County, aged twenty-seven.
GOODLACE.—Feb. 7, of bronchitis, at Letcombe Regis, Berks, Thomas Goodlack, Esq., aged seventy-five. He was the senior magistrate of the county.
LA TROBE.—Jan. 30, at Neuchâtel, In Switzerland, at the residence of her mother, Madame de Montmollin Meuron. Sophie, the beloved wife of his Excellency Charles J. La Trobe, Lieutenant-Governor of the colony of Victoria, aged forty-four.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, February 10, 1854.
We have had a fall and a rise in the funds of about one per cent. during the week. The English public and the monied classes, above all, cannot understand and will not believe that there is really to be a war after so many years peace. The leading journals,liking to stand well with their readers, encourage them in this feeling, and catch, like drowning men at the straws which are transmitted from Vienna through that notorious Viennese telegraph, and as mystery still remains paramount in Downing-street, and the British

Parliament seems to have lost the little pluck that was left in it, daring not to question our autocrats. It is unlikely that our first real blow will come from the Black Sea, and tumble the funds down headlong. The last week it was South Sea *versus* Black Sea; that is, investments having taken place on the part of the South Sea Company, they had the effect of holding up the market against the possible warlike news from the Euxine. It is very certain, that with the prospect of such a serious war as we are about to engage in, 85 ought to be nearer the price of Consols than 2. Except in Consols but few transactions have taken place. French shares have been very heavy throughout the week; Great Westerns have fallen 30s. per share owing to some unfavourable financial reports; London and North Western, the consols of the railways, promises to divide five per cent. and carry over 85,000*l.* Mining shares, particularly foreign, have not been much inquired after—Aqua Fria maintain a good premium. Land companies, Australian Agricultural, South Australian, North British Australian, &c., rather weaker, the same with Australian banks. Russian Five per Cent. have been quoted 103, 105. If any energetic military and naval preparations or movements should occur this coming week we shall see Consols totter, but the great fall will be delayed as long as possible—perhaps until our "old house at home," otherwise the new Stock Exchange, a beautiful building, be opened, which is expected to take place early in March.

Consols are considerably flatter this afternoon, and closed at 91*1/2*, £, having been as good as 92*1/2*, £ at one period of to-day.

Consols, 91*1/2*; Caledonian, 52*1/2*, 53*1/2*; Chester and Holyhead, 15, 16; Eastern Counties, 13*1/2*, 14*1/2*; Edinburgh and Glasgow, 61, 63; Great Western, 82*1/2*, 83; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 65, 66*1/2*; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 94, 96*1/2* ex div.; London and North Western, 103*1/2*, 103*1/2*; London and South Western, 81, 82; Midland, 61, 63; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 34, 36; Scottish Central, 90, 92; South Eastern, 61, 62; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 67*1/2*, 68*1/2*; York and North Midland, 48*1/2*, 49*1/2*; Antwerp and Rotterdam, 3 to 2*1/2*; East Indian, 24, 24*1/2* pm.; Luxembourg, 64, 74*1/2*; Ditto (Railway), 4*1/2*, 4*1/2*; Dito, 1*1/2*; Madras, 4*1/2* pm.; Namur and Liege (with Int.), 7*1/2*, 8*1/2*; Northern of France, 29, 29*1/2*; Paris and Lyons, 124, 12*1/2* pm.; Paris and Orleans, 41, 43*1/2*; Paris and Rouen, 37, 39*1/2*; Rouen and Havre, 17, 18*1/2*; Paris and Strasbourg, 23*1/2*, 29*1/2*; Sambre and Meuse, 7*1/2*, 8*1/2*; West Flanders, 38, 42*1/2*; Western of France, 25, 28*1/2* pm.; Australasian, 77, 79*1/2*; Union of Australia, 67, 69 ex div.; London Chartered Bank of Australia, 1*1/2* i.p.m.; Oriental Bank, 45, 47*1/2*; Australasian Agricultural, 41, 45 ex div.; Peel River, 4*1/2* pm.; North British Australasian, 1*1/2* i.p.m.; Scottish Investment, 1*1/2* i.p.m.; South Australian, 37, 39*1/2*; Aqua Fria, 1*1/2* pm.; Brazil Imperial, 5, 6*1/2*; Great Nuggets, 2*1/2* i.p.m.; Linares, 10, 11*1/2*; Nouveau Monde, 2*1/2* i.p.m.; United Mexican, 3, 3*1/2*; Walters, 2*1/2* i.p.m.; Oberulofos, 2*1/2* i.p.m.; Poltimores, 1*1/2* pm.; Peninsula, 1*1/2* pm.; Port Royals, 1*1/2* pm.; Crystal Palace, 1*1/2* pm.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday Evening, Feb. 10.

LOCAL TRADE.—There are more buyers to-day, and prices of Wheat are fully supported. Other articles remain as on Monday.

FLOATING TRADE.—We have to report 58 arrivals this week; viz., 41 of Wheat, 7 Barley, and 3 of Beans.

The trade has been quiet for cargoes on passage. Arrivals have been taken at better prices than many were expected would be obtained at the beginning of the arrival. A cargo of Polish Odessa has been sold at 70*1/2* *s.* to Jersey. In Ireland the markets have rather given way, but not to any great extent, except for Oats, which had been run up in the southern markets by speculative purchases on London account. In Cork Wheat has declined, owing to sales being made there at prices comparatively many shillings below very recent cost, freight and insurance purchased by the same parties in London. This interferes with the operations of other persons in that quarter, who would otherwise be glad to purchase the cargoes now arrived. The English markets have been all very quiet, and we hear it said (as usual when the trade is dull) that the farmers have been holding back their stocks. We do not find, however, that they have brought much larger quantities forward since the present dullness than before. The Scotch markets are as quiet as ours.

In France and Belgium the markets are lower. This is universally attributed to the state of the Money Market, and there seems little doubt on the part of the French themselves that prices will soon recover; and, as a proof, prices for future delivery are higher than for Corn on the spot.

BARLEY.—The arrivals have attracted attention—a cargo of Smyrna has been sold at 31*1/2* coming to London, and the same price is refused for a cargo of Smyrna in good condition to-day.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Frid.
Bank Stock	217	216 <i>1/2</i>				
3 per Cent. Red.	93 <i>1/2</i>	93 <i>1/2</i>	92 <i>1/2</i>	92 <i>1/2</i>	92 <i>1/2</i>	92 <i>1/2</i>
3 per Cent. Con. An.	92 <i>1/2</i>	91 <i>1/2</i>				
Consols for Account	92 <i>1/2</i>	91 <i>1/2</i>				
5 <i>1/2</i> per Cent. An.	93 <i>1/2</i>	92 <i>1/2</i>				
New 5 <i>1/2</i> per Cents.	5 <i>1/2</i> -10 <i>1/2</i>					
Long Ans. 1860.	23 <i>1/2</i>					
India Stock	23 <i>1/2</i>					
Ditto Bonds £1000	10 <i>1/2</i>					
Ditto, under £1000	4 <i>1/2</i>					
Ex. Bills £1000.	14 <i>1/2</i> p.					
Ex. Bills £500.	13	13	13	13	13	13
Ditto, £500.	20 <i>1/2</i> p.					
Ditto, Small.	13	13	13	13	13	13

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)

Brazilian Bonds	97	Russian Bonds, 5 per Cents 1822	105
Buenos Ayres 6 per Cents.	96	Russian 4 <i>1/2</i> per Cents.	96
Chilian 6 per Cents.	94	Spanish 3 <i>1/2</i> Cts. New Def. 19 <i>1/2</i>	94
Danish 3 per Cents.	94	Spanish Committee Cert.	94
Ecuador Bonds	94	of Coup, not fun.	94
Mexican 3 per Cents.	24 <i>1/2</i>	Venezuela 3 <i>1/2</i> per Cents.	24 <i>1/2</i>
Mexican 3 per Ct. for Acc. February 14	25 <i>1/2</i>	Belgian 4 <i>1/2</i> per Cents.	25 <i>1/2</i>
Portuguese 4 per Cents.	26	Dutch 2 <i>1/2</i> per Cents.	26
Portuguese 3 <i>1/2</i> Cts.	26	Dutch 2 <i>1/2</i> per Cent. Certif.	26

ROYAL OLYMPIC THEATRE.

Lessee, Mr. ALFRED WIGAN. On Monday, and during
the week, will be performed, for the first time, an entirely
new and Original Dramatic Legend, in a Prelude and Three
acts, entitled

THE LOVE-LOCK.

Principal characters by Messrs. A. Wigan, F. Robson
Emery, Leslie, White, Franks; Mrs. A. Wigan, Miss P.
Morton, and Miss Turner. To conclude with the popular
piece of

THE WANDERING MINSTREL.

Jem Baggs.....Mr. F. Robson.

EGYPTIAN HALL.—CONSTANTINOPLE.

is now OPEN every day at 24 o'clock, and
every evening at 8. The Lecture is delivered by Mr.
CHARLES KENNEY, and has been written by Mr. Albert
Smith and Mr. Shirley Brooks. Admission, 1s.; reserved
seats, 2s.

WHITTINGTON CLUB and METROPOLITAN ATHENAEUM.

—Weekly Assemblies for Music and Dancing, Lectures, Classes, and Entertainments. Dining, Coffee, Smoking, and Drawing Rooms.—Library, Reading, and News Rooms, supplied with 30 Daily and 100 Weekly and Provincial Papers; in this respect offering special advantages to Literary Men. Subscriptions, Two Guineas the year; One Guinea the half-year. Ladies half these rates. Country Members, One Guinea the year.

No Entrance Fee.

New Subscriptions date from the 1st of February.

A Prospectus forwarded upon application.

HENRY Y. BRACE, Secretary.

37, Arundel-street, Strand.

PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY.**THE EXHIBITION OF PHOTOGRAPHS and DAGUERREOTYPES.**

is now open, at the Gallery of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk-street, Pall-mall, in the morning, from 10 a.m. to half-past 4 p.m., admission, 1s.; and in the evening, from 7 to 10, admission only 3d. Catalogues, 6d.

THE LIBRARY OF BOOKS, PRINTS,

and DRAWINGS of Ornamental Art useful in Trades, is open daily, (except Saturday evening) from 10 till 9 at Marlborough House, Pall-mall. Admission free to Students of the Department of Science and Art—Other persons 6d. a week, 1s. and 6d. a month, or 10s. 6d. a year.

HEAL AND SON'S ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE of BEDSTEADS.

sent free by post. It contains designs and prices of upwards of One Hundred different Bedsteads in iron, brass, japanned wood, polished birch, mahogany, rosewood, and walnut tree-woods; also of every description of Bedding, Blankets, and Quilts.—Heal and Son, Bedstead and Bedding Manufacturers, 190, Tottenham Court-road.

ECONOMIC CARPET CLEANING and GENERAL DYEING COMPANY. Head office, 482, Oxford-street.—The CARPETS of a mansion, by a cheap and simple process, CLEANED, fit for use, before breakfast. Neither beating nor taking up essential. In THE DYEING DEPARTMENT, all scientific improvements adopted. Orders punctually executed. Carpets freed from dust, from 2s. 6d. to 1s. each.—EDWARD H. OSBORNE.

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P.S.—A Single Bottle at the wholesale price, and families supplied with the same beer in casks.

FIVE GUINEAS.—Mr. WM. H. HALSE, the Medical Galvanist, of 22, Brunswick-square, London, informs his friends that his **FIVE GUINEA APPARATUS** are now ready.—Send two postage stamps for his Pamphlet on Medical Galvanism.

CAUTION.—TO TRADESMEN, MERCHANTS, SHIPPERS, OUTFITTERS, &c.—Whereas it has lately come to my knowledge that some unprincipled person or persons have for some time past been imposing on the Public, by selling to the trade and others a spurious article under the name of BOND'S PERMANENT MARKING INK, this is to give notice, that I am the Original and sole Proprietor and Manufacturer of the said article, and do not employ any traveller, or authorise any person to represent themselves as coming from my establishment for the purpose of selling the said ink. This caution is published by me to prevent further imposition upon the public, and serious injury to myself, E. R. BOND, sole executrix and widow of the late John Bond, 28, Long-lane, West Smithfield, London.

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First—From the frequency and extent of his purchases; and

Secondly—From those purchases being made exclusively for cash.

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Catalogues, with engravings, sent (per post) free. The money returned for every article not approved of.

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TEETH.—By Her Majesty's Royal Letters Patent.—Newly-invented and Patented application of chemically-prepared WHITE INDIA RUBBER in the construction of ARTIFICIAL TRETH, Gums, and Palates.—Mr. EPHRAIM MOSHLY, Surgeon-Dentist, 61, Grosvenor-street, Grosvenor-square, Sole Inventor and Patentee. A new, original, and invaluable invention, consisting in the adaptation, with the most absolute perfection and success, of chemically-prepared WHITE INDIA RUBBER as a lining to the ordinary gold or bone frame. The extraordinary results of this application may be briefly noted in a few of their most prominent features, as the following:—All sharp edges are avoided, no springs, wires, or fastenings are required, a greatly increased freedom of suction is supplied, a natural elasticity hitherto wholly unattainable, and a fit, perfected with the most unerring accuracy, is secured, while from the softness and flexibility of the agent employed, the greatest support is given to the adjoining teeth when loose, or rendered tender by the absorption of the gums. The acids of the mouth exert no agency on the chemically-prepared White India-rubber, and, as it is a non-conductor, fluids of any temperature may with thorough comfort be imbibed and retained in the mouth, all unpleasantness of smell and taste being at the same time wholly provided against by the peculiar nature of its preparation.—To be obtained only at

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London, February, 1854.

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Hold Land Society, 472, New Oxford-street; City Agency, 23, Basinghall-street.—A PUBLIC MEETING and BALLOT for RIGHTS of CHOICE will take place at the Freemasons' Tavern, Queen-street, Lincoln's Inn, on Tuesday, February 14th, 1854, at Half-past Seven in the evening, the Right Hon. Lord Viscount CHEWTON (Chairman of the Society) in the chair. All shares previously taken will participate in the Ballot. All classes are invited to attend. Shares, 50/- Entrance, 1s. 6d.; monthly payments, 5s. No quarterage, fines, or extra payment. 5s. per cent. interest allowed on all deposits of money, paid-up shares, and subscriptions six months in advance.

JOHN P. COX, Secretary.

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Delivered in London, and sent to all parts of the kingdom on receipt of a post-office order for the amount, by WILLIAM DEEKES, 7, Bow-street, Covent-garden. The trade supplied.

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Congou Tea	3s. 2s. 2d. 3s. 4d.
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Best Assam Peckoe Souchong, a very strong tea	4s. 4d.
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The best Mocha and the best West India Coffee at 1s. 4d.	
Teas, Coffees, Spices, and all other Goods sent carriage free, by our own vans and carts, if within eight miles; and Tea, Coffees, and Spices sent carriage free to any part of England, if to the value of 40s. or upwards, by PHILLIPS and COMPANY, Tea and Colonial Merchants.	
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A general Price-Current, containing great advantages in the purchase of Tea, Coffee, and Colonial Produce, sent post free, on application. Sugars are supplied at Market Price.	
INSURRECTION IN CHINA.—TEAS	
are advancing in Price, and from the disturbed state of the producing districts, the well-ascertained shortness of supply, and the increasing consumption, there is every probability of a considerable rise. We have not at present altered our quotations, and are still selling	
London: Aylot and Co., 8, Paternoster-row.	
The very Best Black Tea, at s. d.	
Good second Congou	4 0 the pound.
Fine Peckoe ditto	3 0 "
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Choice Coffee	4 0 "
Fine Homeopathic Cocoa	1 0 "
This is the most pleasant and nutritious preparation of Cocoa.	

For the convenience of our numerous customers, we retain the finest West India and Refined Sugars at market prices.

All goods delivered by our own vans, free of charge, within eight miles of London. Parcels of Tea and Coffee, of the value of Two Pounds sterling, are sent, carriage free, to any part of England.

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Tea-merchants and Dealers,
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Places in Gardens converted into comfortable Water-closets by the PATENT HERMETICALLY-SEALED PAN, with its self-closing water-trap valve, entirely preventing the intrusion of cold air or effluvia. Price £1. Any carpenter can fit it in two hours. Also PATENT HERMETICALLY-SEALED INDOORSES COMMODES for the Sick-room, price £1 4s., £2 6s., and £3. A Prospectus with Engravings forwarded by enclosing a post-stamp. At FYPE and CO.'S, 26, Tavistock-street, Covent-garden.

THE UNITED MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 34, Charing-cross.
Policies indisputable.
Assurances effected on the lives of persons about to reside in Australia on equitable terms.

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